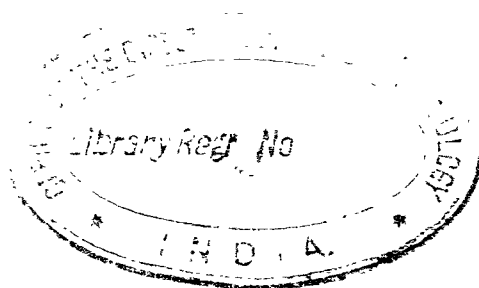


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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXII.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Oct. 18, at 4 p.m.

The Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D., occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary announced the election of Rev. C. E. Rice of Tōkyō to ordinary membership and that of Harrington Putnam, Esq., of New York, to life membership in the Society.

Dr. Divers brought forward his motion to amend Art. XII of the Constitution by changing the date of the annual Meeting from June to November. After some remarks from Dr. Divers the amendment was put to a vote and carried.

Dr. J. N. Seymour then made his proposed amendment to Art. VI of the Constitution, by which the life composition payment of non-resident members was changed from \$16 to \$20. Mr. Garrett Droppers moved to amend this proposition by substituting for \$20 the words *16 gold or 3 guineas*. Dr. Divers supported this motion, which was accepted by Dr. Seymour as a substitute for his amendment, and upon being put to vote the motion in this substituted form was carried.

Mr. Percival Lowell was then called upon to read his paper entitled "Esoteric Shintōism: Proof of its Shintō Origin." In this paper the author gave a continuation of the same general subject as that treated by him in the last session of the Society.

The Chairman, in thanking Mr. Lowell for his contribution, characterized the subject as one which was of as great interest to those who had been long in Japan as to those who had only recently come. Mr. Lowell seemed to the Chairman to attribute over-much impersonality to the Japanese people, and attention was called to the fact that they were deficient in the power of combination—an indication of possible excessive individualism.

In answer to this Mr. Lowell said that such inability on the part of the Japanese seemed to him rather to prove his view. A

keen sense of personality in his judgment went along with the power to combine.

Mr. White asked a question about the etymology of the word *tori*. He also desired to know whether Mr. Lowell assigned the *tori* to Shintō, to which the answer was that a very similar thing was to be found in Corea. Mr. White also suggested that the *Shin* in Shintō might mean mysterious or unknowable, although the meaning given to it by Mr. Lowell was the more common.

With renewed thanks to the author of the paper the Chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji on Wednesday, November 8th, at 4 p.m. The President was in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. L. Serrurier of Leiden had been elected a life member of the Society, and that a gift of several books and pamphlets had been received from Dr. P. Mayet.

The President called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read a paper entitled "The Hi-No-Maru, or National Flag of Japan" written by W. G. Aston, Esq. Enlarged copies of the illustrations of this paper were displayed at the meeting.

The Chairman, in the name of the Society, thanked Mr. Aston for his suggestive paper and Mr. Longford for reading it. He said that it was interesting to know that the Japanese flag, though modern in some things, was yet old in idea. He had seen in a temple at Uji much the same kind of flag as the Hi-no-maru, only it had Buddhist characters on it. Some might be disposed to say that Mr. Aston's derivation of the present flag was far-fetched, that Japan was the "Land of the Rising Sun," and therefore nothing could be more natural than for Japan to choose the sun for her national ensign; but the Chairman thought Mr. Aston's theory correct. The crow and the sun were often pictured together in Japanese art. Among many emblems drawn by Japan from China, that of the rising sun had survived. As to the suggestion that the imperial crest is not really a chrysanthemum, but the sun with its rays, the Chairman could not speak, but he hoped that some members of the Society might investigate the matter and thus gratify Mr. Aston's desire for more light upon this subject.

Mr. Milne thought there was too much tendency to refer everything to China. For himself, he preferred the simple and obvious explanation of the sun and the chrysanthemum. Nothing, he thought, could be more natural or appropriate for Japan to adopt as national emblems. He saw no cause to go to China for them.

The Chairman remarked that even the Japanese word for chrysanthemum, which is *kiku*, is Chinese, but we should have to go to botanists to learn what was the native country of this flower.

Mr. Longford then read a summary, which had been prepared by the Chairman, of a paper on "Ma-Twan-Lin's Account of Japan up to A. D. 1200, including the Japanese chronicles as written down for the Chinese by the Japanese in A. D. 1000," written by E. H. Parker, Esq.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, after expressing his sense of the value of the paper and the thanks of the meeting to the Corresponding Secretary for reading it, commented upon the undesigned coincidences between the account of the Japanese as given by the Chinese historian and that which we have from other sources. Thus we know that in early times the hair was worn loose, that no plates were used for food, but only large leaves, that skins were used as clothing, and that it was the custom to sing and dance at funerals. Some of the customs mentioned continue even to the present day, as for instance cormorant fishing may still be witnessed at Gifu. Other statements of the history are confirmed by the survival of customs in isolated places, such as Loochoo, where the lower classes are even at present forbidden to wear gold and silver ornaments and where tattooing of the hands and arms may still be seen.

Mr. Milne remarked that nothing of the history of Japan seemed to be given, but only an account of its manners and customs, to which the Chairman replied that there was much history in the paper itself, but that he had been compelled to omit it from the summary.

It was remarked that Aso-san was mentioned, whereupon Mr. Milne said that it was the volcano with the oldest history of any in Japan. The Chairman added that this was because it was the farthest west.

It was asked whether the Ainu were named in the history. The Chairman replied that they were, and it was also stated that they were hairy men with long beards and had been taken from

Japan to China. Whether the name Ainu was used in the original the Chairman did not know, but this could be learned by reference to the book itself, which as a standard Chinese work could probably be obtained in Tōkyō.

Mr. Droppers called attention to the divergent opinion which observers formed of the Japanese people. In the *Chronicles of Ma-Twan-Lin* the Japanese were spoken of as a people peacefully inclined and easily governed, yet we know that their history is full of bloody internal wars and many authorities have spoken of them as a warlike people.

The Chairman suggested that possibly a people might be easily governed and fond of war at the same time. However that might be it was to be noted that those who had been longest in Japan were slowest in passing sweeping verdicts concerning the Japanese people.

The meeting then adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1894, at 4 p.m., with the President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Professor Michel Revon of Tōkyō, Samuel Tuke, Esq., of Tōkyō, and F. H. Cornes, Esq., of Kōbe, had been elected to ordinary membership, and that Rev. Clay MacCauley had been elected as a member of the Council in place of Rev. W. I. Lawrance, who had left Japan.

Professor Garrett Droppers then read a paper on "A Japanese Credit Association and its Founder."

In the discussion following the reading of the paper the President said that to him the founder of the Hotekusha seemed a sort of early Japanese socialist. Mr. MacCauley stated that he considered there were many instructive lessons for the present in this study of past Japanese social conditions. It showed how human nature was essentially the same throughout the world and that reformers, in whatever situation or country placed, advocated certain necessary human relations as the conditions of a true society.

Mr. Longford remarked how his attention had been first called to the existence of such a man as Ninomiya by the notorious Sema scandal of last summer. In a casual inquiry

which he had made how it was possible that so much wealth had been lodged in a single family, a Japanese student had replied, "Oh yes, the family is very rich, because their estates were managed by the reformer, Ninomiya." Mr. Longford then read an interesting note prepared by himself.

Mr. Tison and Dr. Divers, who also took part in the discussion, inquired about the general influence exercised by the Association. To a question asked by Mr. Taft as to how many members of the association were farmers, Mr. Droppers replied that nearly all were of the farming class.

The President returned the thanks of the Society to Mr. Droppers for his valuable paper and to Mr. Longford for his note, after which the meeting adjourned.

Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Professor Milne delivered a lecture at the Public Hall in Yokohama, February 22, 1894, on "Movements of the Earth's Crust."

Mr. Jas. Troup, who presided, said it was quite unnecessary for him to introduce Prof. Milne to a Yokohama audience. His name was as familiar amongst them as a household word. (Hear, hear.) He was connected in their minds with phenomena relating to earthquakes very much as the Clerk of the Weather was connected with another set of phenomena. They sometimes spoke of scientists of Europe making a science; Professor Milne had made the science of "Seismology" all his own; for they might with justice say he had more than any other man made that science. It was with regard to this science that he was to address them that night, and he was sure they were all very glad to see him.

Professor Milne, who was cordially received, stated at the outset that it was not his intention to speak on the subject of earthquakes; he would only mention them incidentally. He wanted to prove to them that they were all moving. He did not mean to say that they were all rocking about—that would be very wrong. But that the room was being tilted up. All over the world this tilting went on every day, and after the tilting things came back to their upright position. There was a pulsatory movement going on. In the land as in the ocean there was a swell, an undulation, going on. It was too slight for them to distinguish it, but with instruments they detected the

movements, and could have no doubt on the subject. He wanted to start with certain hypotheses which perhaps they might not believe, and certain facts which they would believe. He wanted to argue from what they deduced when they saw a series of phenomena which more or less graduated one from another. He believed everybody would accept the statement that peat was derived from moss and coal from wood. He wanted to show them the gradations in the subject under consideration from one stage to another. Those gradations were exemplified in the theory of evolution—in Darwin's theory. To begin with he must go a long way back. Experiments had been made in various parts of the world—everywhere between the arctic regions and the equator—to determine the rate at which heat increased as they descended beneath the surface of the earth; and the general result was that after they passed a certain depth there was a gradual increase in the heat the further they went. So that a short distance below the surface—from one to four miles—the heat would be intense. Let it be granted, then, that the deeper they went the heat became greater and greater. For the purpose of illustration he might liken the earth to a tea-pot covered by a cozy. Even with a cozy the heat of a teapot became gradually less; and so in the same way the earth was losing its heat, and the crust was contracting. Then came the question, could that crust support itself? To obtain an answer, let them ask the further question, could an arch of granite, say of eight, or if they liked eighty miles, support itself. Without going into figures he thought they might accept it that it could not. If that was the case, how could they expect the crust of the whole earth to be self-supporting. It was illustrated by the wrinkles in the peeling of an orange, the wrinkles in the flesh of a man who had grown old, and the wrinkles in a coat which was too large for the wearer. Therefore, in the same way, the crust of the earth being unable to support itself, some parts were going down and some going up. This had been going on for all geological time, and so the hills—the Rockies, the Grampians, and the Scandinavians—had their beginning. Geological developments were divided into three periods, primary, secondary, and tertiary, and the Grampian Mountains were due to the first of the movements of the world's crust. Having explained the geological formation of these mountains, the Professor remarked that he was not going into the mountain history of various parts of the world. The Alps and Himalayas, what were they?—like most young things, stuck up; they belonged to the tertiary period. They must not judge the age

of a mountain or a person by the height. (Laughter.) Now from tertiary times let them come to historical times. It was long ago suspected that there were changes in the coast lines of some countries. The Swedish Government suspected this and marked rocks along their coast. Years after those marks were examined, and it was found that while the northern part of the country was going up the southern part was going down. In Europe—in fact in all countries in all parts of the world—they got evidence of subsidence and elevation. Within half a mile of the spot they were then in such evidence was to be found. In the cliffs beneath them they would find borings of shells ten or twelve feet above high water mark. Further down the bay they would find the shells still there. The ground had been lifted up, and he did not think that lifting took place many years ago, because the rock was very soft and wore away quickly. He believed the shells were there not more than fifty years ago. He was of opinion that they were rising one inch a year. He knew places where they could not walk some years ago but where they could walk on dry ground to-day. Some people told him that this was due to an accumulation of shingle; but he found rock there. They could get abundant testimony around the eastern coast of Japan of elevation going on. If they read historical works they would find that places which were once covered with water were now dry land. As in Sweden, this had happened within the memory of men still living. So there might be traced a connection of movement from the earliest period to the present time. Then, they might ask, were not these movements still going on? Was not the Empire of Japan, for instance, still growing? It seemed to him that the growth ought to be easily measurable. He had reason to believe that they were being tilted on that spot; he knew that Tōkyō was elevated up to three or four o'clock in the morning and then subsided. It might be asked, how was this determined? Well, the ordinary surveyor's leveller was of no use for the purpose. Fuji had been measured by every known system, and in each case the result was different. Nobody knew the height of any mountain to fifty feet, and yet they were told at school that Mount Everest was 29,007 feet high. He took the best astronomical levels he could get; and after two years' experiments the sensible idea occurred to him, why not try two levels parallel. He did so, and they went in opposite directions. (Laughter.) At times when typhoons were blowing they could see the bubble of the level pulsating; and this gave the idea that at certain times there was a sort of ocean-like swell passing over

the centre of the earth. That was the only thing he learnt from the levels. He made experiments with a variety of instruments, one being a sort of pendulum, which with a microscope was seen to be moving; but there was nothing self-recording about it. Professor Milne next described at length an instrument resembling the boom of a ship, for recording the earth tremors, by which photography is brought into use for the purpose of recording the movements. Another instrument in use at Kamakura was also described, in connection with which photography is used as the recording agent. As illustrating the sensitive nature of the instrument, he said he had one fixed on a stone column in his house; and so sensitive was it that if one leant upon one side of the column the instrument recorded the pressure; in fact he could weigh a man to 14 lbs. by his sitting on one side of the solid column. They might ask him, as an American gentleman did recently, "But what is the good of it?" and he would have to reply, "There are no dollars in it—at present." He could only answer as did Faraday when a similar question was put to him with regard to his observations with a copper disc on a magnet—"What is the good of a baby?" They could never tell what the baby would become; but from Faraday's discovery resulted motors and the incandescent light. He did not know what good would come of the instrument he had described. It recorded a daily tide—a tide which was too big for lunar effects. What it was due to he did not know; but there it was. It also showed that districts of the earth's surface could be used as barometers. It was indifferent to the shaking due to street traffic and trains and recorded only wave movements. The other day two instruments at Kamakura recorded a wave disturbance which lasted more than two hours; they often lasted an hour. Professor Paschwitz, of Potsdam, was engaged in similar work; and in his observatory at Wilhelmshaven recorded the great earthquake in Japan. Thus the instrument determined the rate at which earthquakes travelled, but it asked what was the good of that he must reply that he did not know. He was glad to say he had attracted the attention of Lord Kelvin, from whom he had received a very pleasing letter. It seemed to him that earthquakes were due to crumpling of the earth's crust; it bent until it could bend no more and then the crack came. The earthquake of 18th inst. appeared to indicate a bending in this district. Three hours before the earthquake came his instrument recorded an abnormal disturbance. If that happened again—although he did not know that it was an

advantage to know when earthquakes were coming; perhaps not. He was not satisfied, however, that he could predict earthquakes. If they could see the interior of the earth, he believed they would see nothing to trouble them; these tremors, in his opinion, were merely surface phenomena. So far he was not satisfied with the results obtained, because they could not make good observations on alluvial plains. He believed his instrument would be of assistance to astronomers; and it was probable that it would also be found of value in saving life from gas explosions in mines. In England the law required that when there was a fall of the barometer additional ventilation should be provided. The mine owners were dissatisfied with this regulation, and he sympathised with them, because he believed that the dangers of gas explosions increased when these tremors came, and did not depend upon the rise or fall of the barometer. In conclusion, Professor Milne said he was annoyed when anyone spoke to him about earthquakes. There were far more important and more interesting movements going on, and he believed that in a few years' time they would see much more attention given to a study of the earth's movements. (Applause).

Mr. Troup, in thanking Professor Milne for his interesting lecture, said their ideas had to be modified, as a man like Mr. Milne made things clear to them. He was yet in the prime of life, and they hoped he might be long preserved to continue these studies and observations. He ought also to thank the Council of the Asiatic Society, in the name of those present, for having arranged that lecture. It was a long time since the Society thought of Yokohama, and he hoped the success of that gathering would induce them to arrange another before long. (Applause).

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the rooms of the Society, No. 17 Tsukiji, April 11, 1894, at 4 p.m.

The President was in the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that M. Maurice Courant of Tōkyō had been elected an ordinary member and George D. Morgan, Esq., of New York, a life member of the Society. Mr. James Troup then read his paper on the "Possible Origin of the Water-wheel of Japan."

The President thanked Mr. Troup in behalf of the Society for his interesting paper, and expressed the opinion that Tyler states that the origin of the water-wheel is lost in the mist of antiquity.

Dr. Divers remarked that there might be separate origins to so useful and simple a thing as the water-wheel. It may also have been imported into Japan from China. *A propos* of a remark made by the author that he had never seen the *battari* used for any purpose except pounding rice, Mr. Mason stated that he had seen the same contrivance used in Kiushiu for pounding lime.

Mr. F. H. Trevithick followed by reading extracts from his paper on the "Railways of Japan."

In opposition to the opinion expressed in the paper that it would now be best for Japan to continue using the accepted narrow gauge of 3 ft. 6 in., Mr. MacCauley remarked that in his opinion Japan would profit by at once adopting the standard gauge. Only 18% of the land of Japan was under cultivation, and the railway system of the country was still in its infancy. Consequently, by adopting the standard gauge now a great saving could be effected in future.

Dr. Divers remarked on the effect of railway building in stimulating scientific training among the Japanese. The early railways had been all planned by foreigners. Since then, however, the Japanese had made such progress that now they were building all their own railways. They had excellent facilities in all the sciences naturally connected with railway construction.

It was further remarked that the unpunctual habits of the Japanese were gradually being modified through the influence of railways.

The President thanked Mr. Trevithick for his valuable paper, after which the Society adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, June 20, at 4 p.m., the President occupying the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that the Rev. Walter Weston of Kōbe, Joseph R. Herod, Esq., of Tōkyō, and Baron d'Anethan of Tōkyō were elected to ordinary membership.

The President also announced the receipt of *Indian Museum Notes* from the Government Bureau, Calcutta, for the library.

Mr. Garrett Droppers then read a paper on the "Population of Japan during the Tokugawa Period."

The President, after thanking Mr. Droppers for his valuable paper, remarked upon the importance of better medical knowledge

and practice, as one of the causes promoting the increase of population. In the early days of the present era people pitted with small-pox were to be seen in all parts of the country. By means of vaccination this disease had been almost extinguished.

In regard to infanticide, Dr. Greene stated that the practice was very common in some parts of Japan, especially the southwestern part. He had been told that in Satsuma it was considered no discourtesy to ask the parents at the birth of a child whether they intended to rear it. He also remarked that he had been shown places where, it was said, children were exposed.

Dr. Seymour expressed a doubt as to the accuracy of statistics in Japan, especially in the earlier portion of the Meiji era. At that time a prejudice existed in the minds of the people against answering the questions of census takers, and he thought that frequently the answers given to officials were wrong. To this it was replied that mistakes were probably made, but that they would to some extent offset each other. Since 1871, when the first census was taken, the birth rate and death rate were normal in Japan. As the census was confessedly accurate at present, there was no reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of the earlier years as the percentage of increase was, on the whole, steady from the beginning.

Dr. Divers wished to emphasize what he considered the capital point of the paper, namely, the difference in the spirit of freedom between the Tokugawa period and the present. In the old regime the people were bound by rigid customs and tyrannical laws; in the modern period they had thrown off many useless restraints and felt the influence of liberty. Hence he thought the natural increase of population.

The meeting then adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1894, at 4 P.M.

The Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. W. P. Wesselhoeft, of Boston, U. S. A., and Rev. C. M. Severance, of Kyōto, were elected life members, and Dr. Maurice Eden Paul, Dr. A. von Wenckstern and Ralph S. Paget, Esq., all of Tōkyō, were elected ordinary members.

A paper was then read on the "Daikoku Mai Ballads." In the absence of the author, Lafcadio Hearn, Esq., the paper was read by Dr. Augustus Wood.

At the close of the paper the Chairman thanked Dr. Wood for reading it. A discussion arose as to the meaning of the words Daikoku Mai. The probable explanation was that they were intended to signify the dance, *Mai*, of *Daikoku*, as the latter enters on the scene with *Ebisu* to recite the story of the ballads.

Mr. Mason remarked upon the great similarity of nearly all Japanese ballad literature. The *Daikoku* ballads seemed to have the essential motive of the ordinary *Gidayu*. Their enormous length was one thing, and they nearly all treated of misfortune, leprosy, and blindness.

The Chairman spoke of the novelty of the subject. In late years no paper had been contributed to the Transactions concerning ballads or folk lore, and he hoped that the present paper would be followed by others in the same field.

The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Nov. 14, at 4 P.M.

The Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene, occupied the chair.

After the preliminary business of the meeting was settled, the Chairman called upon the Rev. Arthur Lloyd to read his paper on the "Development of Japanese Buddhism."

The author stated that as the entire paper was too long to be read in full, he had extracted the substance of the paper in a few pages, which he proceeded to give. He also read a poem upon the life of Nichiren.

Upon the conclusion of the reading the Chairman thanked the writer in behalf of the Society for his interesting contribution. In the study of Japanese religions, he remarked, we find a key to many of the characteristics of the Japanese nation. No other department of investigation throws so much light upon certain obscure elements of Japanese life, nor can the religious situation of the present time be understood unless we carefully study their past religious life.

The regular business of the annual meeting was next taken up. The Recording Secretary for Tōkyō read the annual report of the society as follows :

“ The work of the Society has been carried forward successfully, though without special incident, during the session just closing.

“ At the last meeting of the previous session an amendment to the Constitution was made whereby the annual meeting was changed from June to November. On account of this alteration the present session has proved to be of unusual length. The number of general meetings held during the year have been eight: in October and November, 1893, and in January, February, April, June, October and November, 1894. The February meeting was held in Yokohama.

“ During the year there has been a satisfactory growth of the membership of the Society. Twelve ordinary and five life members were added to the roll.

“ Through death and other causes the Society has suffered severely during the year. The death of H. E. Hugh Fraser deprived the Society of a valued member. The Society also regrets the loss of its honorary member, the distinguished philologist, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, of New Haven, Conn., U. S. A. In the death of Prof. W. S. Liscomb the Society has lost an esteemed member and councillor. The departure of Prof. Alexander Tison for America has deprived the Society of his highly appreciated services as secretary of the Society. In the place of Dr. Whitney, Major John Wesley Powell, Director of the Ethnological Bureau of the Smithsonian Institute, has been elected honorary member of the Society.

“ The finances of the Society show a prosperous condition of affairs, though there is danger that the balance in hand may be easily reduced in the future on account of the rule relating to the composition of members' dues. The present balance for the session shows an increase of over 500 yen above the balance of last session. The Treasurer's report has been kindly audited by Messrs. Trevithick and Duer. The Transactions of the Society continue to have an increasing sale.

“ There were in all nine papers read during the session, the titles of which are given in Appendix A. This record is an excellent one when we remember how the Society has been handicapped by the departure of officers and members during the year. Japan still offers many an unworked mine to the investigator, and it is to be

hoped that the Society will show its usefulness in the future still more than in the past by bringing to light some of the hidden treasures."

This report was duly accepted by the Society, after which the Treasurer and Librarian also read their annual reports.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of the officers for the coming year. The following was the result of the election:

President, Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene.

Vice-Presidents { J. H. Longford, Esq.
 { James Troup, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary, Garrett Droppers, Esq.

Recording Secretary { W. J. S. Shand, Esq., for Yokohama.
 { Garrett Droppers, Esq., for Tokyo.

Treasurer, Dr. J. N. Seymour.

Librarian, Rev. W. J. White.

Council: B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

Dr. E. Divers.

J. Milne, Esq.

W. B. Mason, Esq.

R. Masujima, Esq.

Clay MacCauley Esq.

A. Wood, Esq.

M. Courant, Esq.

O. Keil, Esq.

M. Wyckoff, Esq.

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

APPENDIX A.

List of Papers, etc., during the Session 1893-4

"Esoteric Shintoism: Proof of its Shinto Origin," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"The Hi-No-Maru, or National Flag of Japan," by W. G. Aston, Esq.

"Ma Twan Lin's Account of Japan," by E. H. Parker, Esq.

"A Japanese Co-operative Credit Association and its Founder," by Garrett Droppers, Esq.

"Movements of the Earth's Crust: A Lecture," by John Milne, Esq.

"A Possible Origin of the Water-wheel," by James Troup, Esq.

"The Railways of Japan," by F. H. Trevithick, Esq.

"Population of Japan During the Tokugawa Period," by Garrett
Droppers, Esq.

"The Daikoku Mai Ballads," by Lafcadio Hearn, Esq.

"Development of Japanese Buddhism," by Rev. Arthur
Lloyd.

APPENDIX B.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
JAPAN FOR THE SEVENTEEN MONTHS ENDING OCT. 31st, 1894.

Dr.

To Balance from Last Year	\$2,246.31
„ Entrance Fees	85.00
„ Yearly Subscriptions	531.51
„ Non-Resident Life Subscriptions	127.08
„ Resident Life Subscriptions	195.00
„ Sale of Transactions	988.80
„ Interest at Bank	85.48
	<hr/>
	\$ 4,259.18

Cr.

By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing, etc. .. .	\$ 976.84
„ Hakubunsha, for Stationery, etc. .. .	52.90
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„ Illustrations (for Transactions) .. .	102.05
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„ Expenses of officers of Council.. .. .	31.42
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Balance

In H & S. B. Cor. as Fixed Dep. \$1286.25)	
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Tōkyō, Nov., 1894.

J. N. SEYMOUR,

Hon. Treas.

Correct.

YEEND DUER,

F. H. TREVITHICK.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; Proceedings.
 American Association for the Advancement of Science.
 " Geographical Society, New York ; Bulletin and Journal.
 " Oriental Society, New Haven ; Journal.
 Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
 Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland ; London.
 Anthropologi-sche Gesellschaft in Wien ; Mittheilungen.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Journal and Proceedings.
 Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
 Batavia'sch Genootschap ; Notulen. Tijdschrift. Verhandlungen.
 Boston Society of Natural History ; Proceedings.
 Buddhist Text Society of India ; 86½ Jaur Bazaar st., Calcutta.
 Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Report ; Washington.
 " Education. Circulars of Information ; Washington.
 Canadian Institute, Toronto ; Proceedings and Report.
 China Review ; Hongkong.
 Chinese Recorder ; Shanghai.
 Cosmos ; di Guido Cora, Turin.
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkyō ; Mittheilungen.
 Geological Survey of India ; Records.
 Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
 Handelsmuseum, Wien.
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology ; Bulletin, Papers, etc.
 Imperial Russian Geographical Society ; Bulletin and Report.
 " Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) Section of Anthropology and Ethnography ; Transactions.
 " de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletim ; Lisbon.
 Imperial University of Japan, College of Science ; Journal.
 Japan Society ; London.
 Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
 Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.

Journal Asiatique, Paris.

Musée Guimet, Lyons ; Annales et Revue, etc.

Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.

Observatorio Meteorologico, Monte Video.

Otto Harowitz, Esq.

Peking Oriental Society ; Transactions.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.

“ “ “ Bombay Branch ; Journal.

“ “ “ Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.

“ “ “ China Branch ; Journal.

“ “ “ Straits Branch ; Journal.

“ Dublin Society ; Scientific Transactions.

“ Geographical Society ; Proceedings.

“ Society, London ; Proceedings.

“ “ of Edinburgh ; Proceedings.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. ; Report, etc.

Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid ; Boletín.

Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances.
Paris

“ d'Anthropologie de Paris ; Bulletins et Mémoires.

“ Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin ; Neuchatel.

Sydney, Council of Education ; Report.

The Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. (P. O. Box
100.) U. S. A.

United States Geological Survey.

“ “ Department of Agriculture.

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Volumes added to the Library during the year are as follows :—

Transactions of Japan Soc., London.

" Murray's Handbook."

" Imperial University Calendar."

5 vols on Agriculture

" Note Historique sur les Diverses Espèces de monnaie de Corée."

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THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

- ART. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- ART. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- ART. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

- ART. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- ART. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- ART. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars gold or Three Guineas.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

ART. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

ART. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

ART. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.

Two Vice-Presidents.

A Corresponding Secretary.

Two Recording Secretaries.

A Treasurer.

A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

ART. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

ART. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

ART. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in November, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

ART. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

- ART. XIV.** Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

- ART. XV.** All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council, and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.
- ART. XVI.** The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.
- ART. XVII.** The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

- ART. XVIII.** The published Transactions of the Society shall contain :--(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon ;
(2) The Minutes of the General Meetings ;
(3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Account presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.
- ART. XIX.** Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.
- ART. XX.** The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.
- ART. XXI.** The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

ART XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

ART. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

ART. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS

GENERAL MEETINGS.

- ART. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.
- ART. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council find reason for such a change.
- ART. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 P.M. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- ART. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) Communications from the Council;
 - (3) Miscellaneous Business;
 - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

- (6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4. P.M. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be :—
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting ;
 - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees ;
 - (3) The Election of Members ;
 - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society ;
 - (5) Miscellaneous Business ;
 - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society ;
 - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the the By-laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama. each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING

SECRETARY.

- XII. The Recording Secretary shall :—
1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings ;
 2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
 3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
 4. Attend every General Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Members of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book ;
 5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
 6. Act on the publication Committee ;
 7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By laws of the Society ;
 8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER

- XIII. The Treasurer shall :—
1. Take charge of the Society's Fund in accordance with the instructions of the Council ;
 2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
 3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
 4. Notify new members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council ;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society ;
9. Act on the Publication Committee ;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, if or absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

- Art. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.
- Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood ; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

- Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.
- Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.

ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

BY PERCIVAL LOWELL, ESQ.

[*Read Oct. 18th, 1893.*]

PROOF OF SHINTŌ ORIGIN.

SOME of those here to-day may remember that when the year, which has seen so many leave-takings and is soon to take its own, was yet young I had the honor to present to the Society certain distinguished personages not set down in any directory nor even included in the census of the Japanese Empire, yet indigenous to it and deigning at times again to make part of its population. Since then another volume of the Society's Transactions has closed its receiving covers upon those departed spirits, and to bring them once more before you, as I propose to do, it will be necessary first to resurrect them by a word from the archives where they lie so comfortably buried. I summon them because as the ante-resurrectionists present will recall—and I hasten to hope that as to the advisability of doing so there may not be that difference of opinion which the ambiguity of sound in the preposition induced the devout but illiterate old lady when arguing on the slavery question to affirm had always existed upon every subject since the flood. For, said she, just as folk were divided now about slavery, with the slavery people in favor of slavery and the anti-slavery people opposed to it, so had they been about the deluge; there were the diluvians

who were in favor of a flood and the ante-diluvians who were opposed to it—the *ante-resurrectionists*, therefore, may recall that when I introduced those visitants from another world I described them as of pure Shintō parentage, and I promised at some later day to prove the fact to the Society's satisfaction that it might not feel that it had entertained guests unvouched for by their introducer.

The time has now come to fulfil that promise and to show in this exposition of Esoteric Shintō that the subject is not only Esoteric but Shintō. For the sake of those who did not hear the previous papers I may say that the Esoterism lies in the fact that there exists in Japan a cult of god-possession, or practice of divine trances, to an extent probably unequalled anywhere else, and of which not the least marvellous part is that it should have remained unrecognized so long. The possessions are genuine trances and bear a sisterly resemblance to mediumistic trances elsewhere. Besides such temporary incarnations of deity, there are miracles performed in the cult which also require the presence of the gods. Some account of these and of the Pilgrim Clubs which are intimately connected with both was made by me to the Society last spring. Between such account of the phenomena and a theory of their noumena seems the proper place for identification of the deities in the case, the exposition of these personalities naturally dividing itself into the three parts : that they are ; who they are ; and what they are.

Two claimants present themselves for possession of the cult—Shinto and Buddhism. That the cult was, and in a sense still is, practiced by neither but by Both,—as with a certain pious duplicity of meaning we may state the case, since thus Ryōbu may exactly be rendered—does not simplify matters. For Ryōbu being a combination of the two, as its name so candidly confesses, confesses nothing further on the subject.

The importance of the inquiry quite transcends the question of creed. Did it not do so we might perhaps leave it to the tender mercies of church polemics, certain that the guilty, if possibly even the innocent also, would not escape. But it is not simply a question of religion ; it is a question of race. For Shintō is the faith of the people professing it in a peculiarly intimate way. It is a religion, not of adoption but of birthright. Shintō is what the Japanese race believes because it learnt it at the knee of the race-mother ; Buddhism what it was taught to believe when it went to school abroad. If therefore the possession cult be Shintō it is Japanese ; if Buddhist it is only another bit of foreign imitation. The point thus possesses ethnologic consequence.

To determine to which it belongs might seem a simple matter to anyone unacquainted with Japan. Doubtless to a Japanese it would seem easy to say what came of Christian and what of pagan stock in the observances of the western churches ; Christmas-day, for example, commending itself at once as self-evidently Christian,—to the extent even of bearing the faith-name. Yet, as we know, the day is not Christian at all but as lusty an old heathen as ever was ; nothing but the Roman Saturnalia, adopted bodily out of the older faith and merely baptized anew to make it seem respectable. Though we wend our way in the morning to church instead of to sacrifice, we hold our saturnalia in the evening in one unbroken tradition from a pagan past. So surely does the holiday survive the holiday that begot it.

If Christianity can thus appropriate other peoples' property without acknowledgment, Christians at all events will find no difficulty in believing that Buddhism may. And indeed in Japan it has, on a much more thorough scale. For Christians are on principle opposed to purloining ; Japanese Buddhists, also on principle, are not. The principles I refer to are not moral but

psychic ones. They are race characteristics that in the matter of foreign acquisition have helped the one faith and hindered the other. As to appropriation of other peoples' ideas, Aryan folk have always acted with comparative honesty, which would be the more commendable morally did it spring from other motive than mere preference for their own. No nation allows conscientious scruples to keep it from what it wants; but relatively speaking we really like our own things best. In Japan there is no such personal prejudice in favor of oneself. With self-obliterating modesty these folk consider other folks' intellectual property quite good enough for them. Imitation, in short, has been at a premium and originality at a discount. While the other party to the matter, impersonal Buddhism, is of course loftily superior to such ephemerality as the *meum* and the *tuum*. In consequence after Shintōist Japan had embraced Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism turned round and paid Shintō the same unsolicited compliment. Whatever it came across in the way of popular superstition which struck it as desirable it hastened to enfold, things or people. The result was a rather mixed divine society. There are many gentlemen of questionable pasts in the Roman Catholic Calender of saints, men who, could they see themselves in such company, would open their eyes indeed and probably wink them too. But at Buddhist hands the canonization was even more catholicly complete. They took in the whole Shintō pantheon, as a matter of course; all the gods, that is, of any respectability. They did with them much as William the Conqueror did with the Saxon thanes: left them a titular rank while carefully depriving them of power and prestige. For Buddhism was well aware that, in spite of the saw, a dead lion may prove mightier than a live dog, in the effect it has on other people. Great memories are great instigators; while the belittled sink swiftly into oblivion. In making, therefore, an insignificant present damn its own

significant past lies the quintessence of the art of annihilation. Buddhism acted, if not scientifically, at last artistically upon this principle.

The result was that the common folk found themselves good Buddhists without being quite aware how they became so. They were still allowed to worship their old gods, and they already worshipped so many of these deities that they saw no objection to worshipping the few myriad more with which the Buddhists kindly provided them. This happy family arrangement was rendered the easier by the fundamental congruity between the principles of the Buddhist faith and the character of the Japanese people.

Ryōbu was very popular, because it let in everybody. Roughly speaking it was Shintō in principle and Buddhist in practice. But this diagnosis is due to deduction, not inspection. At first sight Ryōbu is hopelessly mixed. It is introduced here again that it may add in the proper place its not inconsiderable quota to the general perplexity of the subject.

Sufficient as this perplexity is in everything else connected with Japanese customs, it naturally became extreme in the case of so spiritual a matter as the art of god-possession. Not only did Ryōbuists, Shintoists and Buddhists all practise it, but they did so each with their own detail. Distinctive signs of original ownership nowhere appeared. So that although it soon became evident that somebody had taken it from somebody else, one was left quite in the dark as to which was the reprehensible robber and which his lamentable victim.

Direct inquiry elicited worse than ignorance. It evolved much mystifying doubt. For the priestly evidence was bitterly baffling. No sooner was one man's story duly registered than another came along with an upsettingly opposite tale. The sole point in which the tellers approached accord lay in ascribing the art with comparative unanimity each to his own particular faith. The Shin-

tōists asserted it to be Shintō : the Buddhists, Buddhist ; while the Ryōbusts ascribed it at times to the one but more commonly to the other. A few humble brethren modestly admitted that they did not know.

Where doctors of divinity disagreed in this alarming manner, it was hopeless to try to decide between them. Under such weighty counter-assertions one's own opinion swung balance-wise to settle at last to the lowest level of equi-doubt. And there, so far as mere human help could go, it might have stayed forever in indeterminate suspension.

At this critical dead-point in the investigation, when any advance toward a solution seemed an impossibility, a bit of circumstantial evidence suddenly presented itself to turn the scale. I say presented itself, for it was not through either contending party that it came into court. It wandered in one day unexpectedly and proceeded quite quietly to give most damaging testimony in the case. Indeed its evidence was crucial. Oddly enough this circumstantial witness appeared in the shape of what stands to Shintō for crucifix—the *gohei*.

The acquaintance of the *gohei* is perhaps the first that one makes in Japan. The surprising white zigzags of that strange strip of paper, pendent at intervals from the straw rope along the lintel of some temple-front is sure to catch the foreign eye, with a realistic suggestion of lightning. Indeed, so far as looks go, it might be a flash of that hasty but undecided courser of the skies, caught by chance and then miraculously tethered and tamed. Striking it still is. And that its discontinuities of direction can all be fashioned of one continuous sheet of paper is not the most of its mysteriousness.

Specimens enough, however, one is sure to see ; first without and then within the temple-buildings. For the *gohei* garlands the porch, festoons in frieze the holier rooms and stands the supreme emblem upon the altar.

It is not confined to the temples, the *miya* and the *jinja*, plentifully as these are dotted over the land. Almost every house has its *kami-dana* or Shintō-gods' shelf, a tiny household shrine, nested in some cupboard or recess. And there in the half-light stands the *gohei* again, in the heart of each Japanese home.

Nor is it simply to be seen indoors. Like mankind it inhabits the land. You shall mark it everywhere; now in some quiet eddy amid the traffic of town, now upon the summit of some lonely peak that only in midsummer knows the foot of man. Planted beside the path under a diminutive wayside shrine it reminds the passer by of the presence of the local god.

It does service too, of an agricultural sort. When the growing rice begins to dream of the ear, it begins to dot the paddy-fields, stuck upon a sight stick overlooking the crops.

But strangest of all, you shall chance upon it some fine day riding along in mid-festival procession, perched conspicuously in dignified solitariness upon a richly caparisoned horse's back.

In short it is the omnipresent Shintō symbol. As far as symbolism goes the *gohei* is Shintō.

Its religious significance it would be hard to over-estimate. It is to Shintō what the crucifix is to Christianity and a great deal more; one of those symbols which the modern defenders of the faith take much pains to assure you is only a symbol and no pains whatever to prevent the people from worshipping as a god. As Shintōists are not so much distressed to harmonize their beliefs with scientific sense, being as yet unfired by the burning desire to discover the reasons of things, they make small distinction between the *gohei* and the god. In many cases they make none at all.

There are two kinds of *gohei*; the *haraihei* or purifying-*hei* and the *shintai* or god's body. Specimens of

the first may be seen in profusion about any Shintō temple. They are the *gohei* that first greet the devotee, pendent from the sacred straw rope hung at the temple door. And they are the *gohei* that festoon the building's eaves and make frieze to the holier rooms within. To the same class belong the *gohei* of the fields; the ones that so picturesquely dot the growing rice. For they are divine scare-crows or rather scare-locusts, those pests of the paddy-field farmer. They are scare-crows however in an occult sense, for though they resemble gods as startlingly as the more secular monstrosities do man, it is not their looks but their spirituality that is effective. And to judge from their general use they seem to prove as efficacious against the locusts as those about the temple are against the imps.

To the *shintai* or god's body class belong all those set up in shrines or used as the central symbol at religious functions. They are called the god's body, because at times they incarnate deity. They are not permanently the god, but are permanent receptacles for the god whenever he sees fit to descend. At the god's pleasure they are transubstantiated into himself. This transubstantiation is constantly taking place every day. To say that it takes place at the god's pleasure is, however, to put it flatteringly to the god; for it really happens at the will of the worshipper. Every prayer, even the merest momentary mumble, involves incarnation of the *gohei* by the god, and at a moment's call. Just before starting upon his prayer the worshipper claps his hands to summon the god, who forthwith descends into the *gohei* and stays there till by an after-clap the worshipper bids him depart. Thus in any popular shrine it is one continual come and go on the part of the god. What happens exactly when two persons call at overlapping times upon the same god, so that one bids him be gone while the other would still have him stay, is a problem in higher esoterics.

Another instance of the *gohei* become the god is when it is borne in festival procession sitting upon the albino horse. For it is no stick that rides ; the god himself sits in the saddle. The horse is the god's own steed of state, kept for his sole use in the sacred stable, one of the holy out-buildings of any well appointed Shintō shrine. In no other way does the god ever go out. The astute may possibly detect in this statement some inconsistency with the one made above about the god always coming and going, but it may be pointed out that in no cosmogony is much consistency expected of spirits. The student should receive humbly such crumbs of congruity as he may get and be thankful.

These are examples of invisible possessions. The god is there though the irreligious would never know it. But there are also visible possessions of the *gohei*. Such occur at the personal god-possession. In transition to them I may mention a use of the *gohei* not generally known : its christening power.

There are three methods of naming children in vogue among Shintoists. One, the most obvious and the least devout, is for the father to name the child himself. The second in an ascending scale of piety is for the father to select several suitable names for the infant and then submit the choice among them to the god. The father brings the babe to the temple or to the priest, and with him slips of paper inscribed with possible names. Three or five is the usual number of such slips. The priest rolls them up separately, puts them into a bow and then, after due incantation, angles for them with a *gohe* upon a wand. Whichever name the *gohei* fishes out first is the god-given name the child is to bear. Certainly one way, this, of deciding between the merits of the far-eastern equivalents of Tom, Dick or Harry. The ceremony takes place when the infant is a week old. It is not to be confounded with the *miya mairi*, which takes place a month after birth,

and is not our christening at all but akin to the Hebraic presentation of the child at the temple. For at the *miya mairi* the child, named some weeks before, is presented by its parents to its guardian god and formally put under his protection.

The third method of obtaining a name for one's babe is by possession pure and simple. The *nakaza* goes into his trance, the god descends through the *gohei*, and the *maeza* then asks the god what he will have the baby called, to which the god makes reply. This method of baptism is reputed the most holy of the three. It is practised by the ultra devout. Of the population of Japan about twenty per cent, it is estimated, are named by these last two methods, about ten per cent. each.

Now the last of these practices is a case of the visible possessions of the *gohei*. For the incarnation of it by the god may be seen and felt. The *gohei*-wand shakes with his coming and quivers yet as passing through it he slips into the body of the man. Without its mediate influence possession, they say, would not take place. It is therefore not without a certain poetic fitness that it should look so like lightning. It is, if you will, a sort of spirit lightning-rod to conduct the divine spirit into the human one.

Seen massed about the wand it has more the look of some much-flounced dress, something between the virginal ball-dress of a debutante and the prim starched costume of a Nō dance. Indeed in a sense it both was and is a divine dress. Its name signifies cloth, *gohei* meaning august cloth or present, the idea having in course of time developed through a whole gamut of gifts in the concrete into the latter meaning in the abstract. For the *gohei* is the direct descendent of the hempen cloth hung on the sacred *sakaki* (the Cleyera japonica) to do honor to the gods. A relative of this its

ancestor may still be seen in Korea in the shreds of colored cloth attached there to the devil trees ; devils and gods being always first cousins in any faith.

From hemp, its material constitution changed successively, first to cotton, then to silk, and finally to its present modest paper, a transformation of substance keeping step economically, it will be noticed, with the progress of the arts. As to its color the earliest mention of it in the *Kojiki*—recorded therefore as early as any thing in Japan—tells of two kinds, one dark blue, the other white, used simultaneously. Nowadays it is almost always the plain white of ordinary paper ; though sometimes you shall see five *gohei* in a row of yellow, red, black, white and blue respectively. They represent the gods of the five elements, wood, fire, earth, water and metal.

Cloth it was, clothes it has become. For its shape now represents the vesture of the god ; of which the god takes possession on descent. Zigzags cut from one sheet of paper fall symmetrically on either side the stick, giving to the thing a distant resemblance to a draped figure. In the *Ryōbu* the mid-fold stands up straight, clothes-pinned upon the stick and flanging out a little toward the top. This represents the divine neck and head. In the purer Shintō form this top piece is bent down over the rest typifying conventionally a more perfect pose.

From such conventionality it may be gathered what a part the *gohei* plays in the religious thoughts of the Japanese people. Indeed it is all that is most Shintō, and reversely Shintō is mostly all *gohei*.

Now in the rush of Buddhist spoliation the *gohei* was one of the very few of its possessions which Shintō was able to hold on to. Not that the Buddhists have not adopted, and then adapted, it. The Shingon and Nichiren sects have found it useful and put it to several pleasing variations, but too late to jeopardise its title. Just as in the same way they

took the *torii*, and glorified that in stone and bronze and lacquer. Not only is the *gohei* Shintō but it is admittedly so.

It was this *gohei*-wand that, in conjuring the god, conjured unexpectedly the spirit of the rite itself. For one day it struck me that the *gohei*-wand was always put into the hands of the man to be possessed before the possession came on and was held by him through the trance. At that time I was not aware that it played any more esoteric part in the rite. Having once been struck by the coincidence I began to observe particularly, to mark if there were exceptions to this, to me then empirical, rule. I found none. At every performance, whether at the hands of Ryōbu, Shintō or Buddhism, the wand appeared as regularly as the possession itself. Other details came and went, but the *gohei* was always there. Upon this I put questions and got innocent admission from the Buddhists that it was a necessary detail of the rite and from Shintō an explanation of the cause. The fact and its reason may be formulated together thus: *the gohei-wand is used in every divine possession-trance in Japan, without exception, as a necessary vehicle for the god's descent.* Whether the possession take place by Shintō, Ryōbu or Buddhist rite, in every instance the *gohei*-wand is put into the hands of the person to be possessed at the time the invocation to the god to descend begins and not till this is done does the god come. Furthermore, the god is believed to come through the *gohei*. It is a case of *post hoc*, because is is a case of *propter hoc*. The *gohei* is the soul of the rite.

To add argument to this one mute fact savors of the superfluous. For the crucial character of this bit of circumstantial evidence is self-evident at once. As if however to emphasize it, both faiths festoon the place where the descent is to be made with other *gohei* pendent overhead, for purification. Both *haraibei* and *shintai* are thus there.

Before the dumb exorcism of his little wand, all the Buddhist pretensions to the cult vanish into thin air. There is nothing left to discuss with ; one cannot argue with a wraith. And if one think to strike insubstantiality, he is ware only of the void. Yet to lay the ghost the more effectually it may be well to look at the space it occupied a little longer.

To believers the means to a mystery is the mystery itself. For those who practice such things do not practice them as sciences but as arts. They have inherited the act embodied in certain actions and symbols. To them the latter are an integral part of the former. And from being so in act they become so in fact. For so potent is faith that to believe in a means as essential to an end is by virtue of that alone to make it so.

Now a mystery is not a thing a faith is in the habit of making gratuity of to the first man it meets ; especially when it is a mystery of the utmost significance. Every well-organized hierarchy has to keep up a certain amount of celestial exclusiveness for purposes of self-preservation. Just because by prolonged devotion it has secured a distant divine recognition is no reason why it should minimize this acquaintanceship to others. Ante-room admission to the favor of the gods is surely as valuable a privilege as a like reception at the hands of the great ones of the earth ; and we all know what lustre in their own eyes such threshold intimacy casts upon the favored few, even to the extent of pretending to make light of it to others. Now this divine intimacy is imposing enough in all conscience when it rests simply on the word of the admitted. How infinitely more so when it is confirmed by visible action on the part of the gods themselves ! An introduction to such peculiar privilege is not thoughtlessly to be given to everybody. It will not do to present profane outsiders to one's gods ; least of all one's bosom foe. Such an act is nothing short of sacerdotal suicide.

Yet a much more improbable tale even than this the Buddhists would have us believe. For they admit getting the *gohei* from Shintō and at the same time they assert that they taught that faith the possession cult. If so, then, they took three steps to their own destruction, each more trance-like, to say the least, than its predecessor. First they parted, for no consideration whatever, with a most valuable possession, simply inestimably so for purposes of conversion, to the very folk whom they were at the moment doing their utmost to convert. Next they permitted these people once taught to substitute their own sacred symbol as conjurer in the supreme act, a concession which must speedily have induced complete oblivion that the cult itself had ever been a gift; and then to cap the climax to their kind self-effacement they actually adopted this, their proselytes' symbol, for exclusive use themselves. And then they ask the world to credit the account.

Were I merely making an argument in the matter I should here rest my case, the convincing character of this bit of evidence alone rendering any other superfluous. But as it is an exposition on which I am engaged, I go on to some more facts all in the same line.

The first of these is, Buddhistically a revelation only second in surprise to the last. The very gods the *gohei*-wand summons turn unwilling witnesses against the Buddhist claims. For it is the Shintō gods that descend. Not only is it their own gods alone that pure Shintoists call, but the Buddhists also call Shintō deities, and of their own pantheon only the lower, never the higher members. To explain this unusual fancy for their neighbors' gods, combined with a comparative disregard for the company of their own, the Buddhists allege the, to them, relative unimportance of the cult. Such indifference is perilously near abandonment of their previous claims. People are not given to detecting flatness of flavor in their own fruit. Besides even this lame excuse halts at calling in the Shintō

gods. If the practice be to them so unimportant an affair, why indulge in it at all? Doubtless it is very flattering to the Shintō deities thus to be called on for their opinion by comparative outsiders, but it would seem quite an inexplicable civility on the part of the Buddhists to do so, even among the politest people in the world.

So much shall suffice here for the mute evidence of acts. But language has a word or two to say on the subject which, as a matter of courtesy, it may be well to admit. And first in the way of records.

As this Society is aware, the Kojiki and the Nihongi or Nihonshoki, as, unabbreviated, it is more commonly called, (which, in parenthesis, I may remark, seems not so generally known) are the two oldest books of the Japanese people. Written, the one in A.D. 712, the other in A.D. 720, they together constitute the Shintō bible, being different versions of much the same facts and fictions about the national past. Many of the fictions are doubtless founded in fact, though exactly how and even inexactly when it would outwit mythology itself to state. There is at the beginning the usual attempt to make something out of nothing in order to account for the cosmos; much of which is probably Chinese. Then having got primeval chaos into something like order, the account gradually assumes consistency, till eventually it becomes substantially history—of a far-oriental kind. As it begins with gods and ends with men, the evolution is not of a strictly scientific order but resembles rather the running-down-hill religious variety. During this abnormal development various improbable things occur, some necessary to the evolution, some irrelevant to it. Of course the gods are the *dei ex machina* in the matter. And it takes a long time before the thing gets into fairly passable running order, and their presence generally dispensed with. This dispensation never wholly takes place, and even after they have formally left the field to their descendants they are continually

popping in and out just to keep a finger in the cosmic pie. One of their favorite methods of doing this is to possess people. Such manifestations of themselves were not, if we are to trust the histories, very uncommon. There are at least three such recorded and, what is peculiarly to the point, with almost the exact detail which distinguishes the possessions of to-day. This is what makes the accounts really important ethnologically. We seem to be looking down that long vista of the past to a trance similar to any taking place about us at the present time.

The first of these of which mention is made took place in the purely heavenly half of the history, that is when the gods alone lived in the land. The occasion was the unfortunate withdrawal of the Sun Goddess into a cave in consequence of the unseemly conduct of her rude brother, the Impetuous Male, the first recorded instance of the *enfant terrible*, and a god very happily named, I think, to express the fact. He was subsequently banished to the moon, not inappropriately perhaps. The displeasure of the Sun Goddess was peculiarly distressing to the company of heaven, because her withdrawal of itself plunged them into utter darkness. They accordingly set about concocting a scheme to lure her out, the execution of which as given in the Kojiki reads as follows.

“They hung all manner of things upon the tree ; five hundred jewel-strings of brilliant bent beads to the top branches, an eight-sided looking-glass to the middle ones and dark-blue and white *gohei* to the lowest. Then His Augustness Jewel August Thing took an August *gohei* in his hand and Heavenly Small Roof August Thing made repetition of some August (Shintō) prayers, while Heavenly Hand Power Male God was made to hide beside the August door. Thereupon Heavenly Ugly Face August Thing, using a heavenly vine from the Heavenly Incense Mountain as shoulder

cord to tuck up her sleeves, and making herself a wig of the heavenly *masa* tree and tying up a bunch of bamboo-grass from the Heavenly Incense Mountain to hold in her hand, turned a cask bottom up before the door of the heavenly rock-house, and treading and stamping upon it with her feet became possessed (*kamuyakari shite*). And clutching the clothes from her breasts and pushing down the girdle of her skirt she let it fall down to her hips. And the Plain of High Heaven resounded as the eight hundred myriad deities with one accord laughed. Thereupon the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess, thinking it strange, opened the door of the heavenly rock-house a crack and from within deigned to ask at some length the cause of the uproar. The crack was of course the opening wedge to her luring out."

In the Nihonshoki the legend runs as follows : "Then Thought Combine God, after deeply scheming and anxiously considering, collected many everlastingly-singing birds and set them to sing against each other. Then he caused Hand Strength Male God to hide by the side of the door of the rock. Then Heavenly Little Roof August Thing, the far-parent of Nakatomi, the High Officer and August Jewel August Thing, the far-parent of Imbei, pulling up by the roots five hundred *masakaki* from the Heavenly Incense Mountain, hung five hundred strings of brilliant jewels to the top branches, an eight-sided looking-glass to the middle ones and dark-blue and white *gohai* to the bottom ones : then they prayed in concert. Then Heavenly Ugly Face August Thing, the far-parent of Lord Female Monkey, taking in her hand a spear wound about with *chi* grass and standing before the door of the heavenly rock-house did many ingenious tricks. Then taking some *masakaki* from the Heavenly Incense Mountain she made herself a wig of it, and taking a vine made of it a shoulder cord to tuck up her sleeves. Then lighting a bed of fire, she turned a cask bottom up and stamping on top of it became possessed (*kamuyakari su*). Thereupon the Heavenly Shining Great

August Goddess, hearing the sound, cried out ;" what is now immaterial, since, her curiosity once lured out, she soon followed herself.

The next mention of divine possession occurs in the Nihonshoki. It is recorded in the reign of the Emperor Sujin, a most unlucky monarch with whom everything went wrong. Of course he attributed this to the gods and determined finally to question them on the subject. So he went into a certain plain and collecting the eight hundred myriad deities, asked to have his fortune told. And "At this time a god descended upon the princess Yamato-tōtōhi-momosohime-no-mikoto and said (*kamuyakarite iraku*) : 'Why is the Emperor troubled in spirit because the country is vexed and there is no law in the land ! If he diligently worship me and follow my commandments the land shall rest in peace.' Then the Emperor inquired and said : 'What god is it that instructs me thus ?' And the god answered : 'I am the god that dwelleth within the boundaries of this land, the land of Yamato, and my name is Omono-nushi-no-kami.' Then receiving reverently the instructions of the god the Emperor worshipped diligently according to their commandment."

A little after this in the next reign, the reign of the Emperor Suinin, we are told, also in the Nihonshoki, of an image that was suddenly possessed by the god whose image it was.

"In the third month, in the second year of the boar, on the first day, being the day of the monkey, the Emperor taking an image of the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess from the princess Toyosuki-hime-no-mikoto gave it to the princess Yamato hime-no-mikoto and charged her, saying : 'Search me out a place where I may set up this image.' So the princess took the image and went with it to Totanosasahata. And from thence returning she went round by the land of Omi, and thence turning eastward

she went by way of the land of Mino till she came to the country of Ise. Then the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess spake and instructed the princess Yamato-hime-nomikoto saying: 'This land of Ise, this land of heavenly breezes, this land of ever curling waves, this sea-fringed shore, is a delectable land. In this land will I dwell.' So, according to the words of the goddess, was a shrine built to her there in the land of Ise." Such was the founding of the famous shrines of Ise.

But perhaps the most interesting of all the possessions mentioned in either of these books are the possessions of the Empress Jingō recorded more or less in both.

The Empress Jingō was a good deal of a man. She was a great deal more of a man than her husband, though she was only his second wife. For she was empress-consort simply, at first, until she succeeded her husband, who died from want of faith, as will appear later. Masculine in character she was most feminine in looks. The Nihonshoki speaks of her as exceedingly pretty and her father's pet; which latter fact proves to my mind that she was a woman of will, for I have observed that fathers are usually proud of daughters of decision. She it was who conquered Korea, in the histories at least, and did many other manly acts, besides giving birth to the Emperor Ōjin, afterwards canonised as Hachiman, the God of War.

Apparently she was prone to being possessed and ended by being quite intimate with deity. Her chronicle is a curious patchwork, pieced out, however, fairly complete between the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. The Nihonshoki does some Almanack de Gotha work, and after a few rather dry domesticities, simply kills her husband, without offering us any excuse for the deed except the apparent unimportance of his life. The Kojiki however condescends to tell us how it came about.

“Prior to this (referring to a digression about a certain posthumous name of her son) the Empress was divinely possessed (*kami yori-tamaeriki*, lit. got-god-approached). At the time when the Emperor, dwelling in the Oak Temple in Kyūshū, was about to make war upon the land of Kumaso, the Emperor played upon the august harp and Take-no-uchi-no-sukune went into the place of inquiring of the god (*saniwa*, lit. sand-court) and inquired of them. Then the Empress being divinely possessed (*langakari shite*) informed and instructed him, saying: ‘To the west lieth a land full of all manner of precious things from gold and silver upwards etc., etc.’” This glowing description, of which it were needless here to quote more, referred of all places in the world to—Korea. It is perhaps not matter for wonder that the Emperor proved sceptical on the subject and made light of the divine information; upon which he was promptly killed by the gods for contempt of court. After which the Nihonshoki resumes the narrative and tells us that the Empress, who seems to have been a pious person, was much grieved at the Emperor’s so sudden taking off for doubting the divine word, and resolved, woman-like, to know the uttermost of the matter, a resolve she carried out as follows. “Choosing a lucky day she went into the purification shrine and became possessed (*kan-nushi to naritamo*). And the way of it was this. Giving orders to Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, she caused him to play upon the august harp, and calling Nakatomi-no-ikatsu, the August Attendant, she made him the inquirer of the god (*saniwa to su*). Whereupon he placed a thousand cloths, rich cloths, upon the top and bottom of the harp and praying, said: ‘The god that spake on a former day to the Emperor instructing him; what god was it? I would fain know his name.’ When seven days and seven nights had passed the god answered saying:” first what his abode was and then what was his name, and then in reply to further questionings of the *saniwa*, Nakatomi, gave information for conquering Korea,

which was his object from the beginning. The Empress, being duly devout, influenced perhaps slightly by the glitter of prospective jewels, acted on the information and with complete success.

Here then, we have accounts of possessions long pre-Buddhist; their very acconuts being practically pre-Buddhist themselves. For the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki were written less than one hundred and fifty years after Buddhism came to Japan, far too short a time for it to have draped old legends with its own detail. Besides there is not the slightest suspicion that it ever tried to do so. The accounts read as realistically Shintō as one could have. What is more, they read, barring a few archaisms, as if recorded of to-day. In skeleton the modern procedure is all there. In these old Shintō biblical narratives you see the same features that you mark in the Ryōbu-Shintō trances now. The conservatism is quite far-orientally complete; which is another proof not only that the thing is Shintō but that the Buddhists brought with them from China nothing akin to it. For we may be sure the gods would not have been behind their people in the great national characteristic of imitation, and had there been any foreigners to copy they would assuredly have copied them, and not have stayed starchedly Shintō to the present day.

The verbal evidence of the records is interesting. The words are all pure Japanese. Many of them are yet comprehensible, being a sort of grandfathers to the modern terms. *Kamigakari*, of which *kamuyakari* and *kangakari* are euphonic forms, means god-fixed-on. An intransitive verb, it shows the spontaneity of the act. This spontaneity of deity is further dwelt on by tradition. In those good old days the gods descended, it is piously taught, of their own initiative and not as now because importuned of man. Such seems a true mirror of the fact. For at first the act must have been fortuitive and sporadic. It could only

have been later that men learnt to lasso deity at will. The modern term *kami-oroshi*, causing the god to descend, marks a subsequent business stage in the practise. Indeed this domestication of deity, this taming of once wild trances, is not the least peculiar attribute of the far-eastern branch of the subject. Among every people divine trances have taken place, but to make of the accidental and fortuitous the certain and the regular, to develop the casual into a systematic cult, is Japanese.

The word *kami* which appears both in the ancient and the modern expression is suggestive. For *kami* refers exclusively to Shintō gods; Buddhist gods being always called *hotoke*. *Kami* means "top" or "above," and therefore the supreme beings. It is the same *kami* that means in every day use "above" as opposed to "below"; the *kami*, the hair of the head, because the "top" hair, and the *kami* that almost sarcastically appears in *a kami san*, your wife, lit. Mrs. Upper, when addressing the middle classes. Even its Sinito-Japanese equivalent *shin* shows the same significance. For it never referred in China to the Buddhist gods. The two characters of which its one is composed mean "declare," "say," whereas the character for *hotoke*, a Buddhist god, means simply "not man". Whether trance-revelation lies hidden in this is another matter.

Another word in the bibles is interesting—the word *saniwa*. The characters with which it is written mean "sand court." What that means has non-plussed the commentators, as Mr. Chamberlain tells us. It has not failed the priests. They explain it satisfactorily, if perhaps ex-post-factorily as the god-interviewer, what is now commonly called the *maeza*. The explanation of the priests is at least explicable. For "sand court" has the same impersonal designation about it, the designation of the place in lieu of the person which is curiously

conspicuous in *maeza*, the "seat-in-front". That it appears to make nonsense in personal English does not imply that it makes nonsense in impersonal Japanese.

I will now give from the Nihonshoki two or three accounts of Kugadachi or the Ordeal by Boiling Water, which will show that the miracles are as old as the incarnations and as purely Shintō. The first of these ordeals was undergone in the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, son to the Empress Jingō.

"In the ninth year (of his reign), in the spring, in the fourth month, the Emperor sent Take-no-uchi-no-sukune to Kyūshū to take account of the people. Now at that time Umashi-nehi-no-sukune, the younger brother of Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, wishing to rid himself of his brother, laid charge against him before the Emperor, saying: 'It has come to our ears, O Emperor, that Take-no-uchi-no-sukune is desirous of possessing Japan and secretly goeth about to stir up the people of Kyūshū against the Emperor. Then when he shall have estranged the land of Kyūshū and called in the Three States (Korea) he purposeth to seize upon Japan.' Hearing these words, the Emperor sent a messenger to Take-no-uchi-no-sukune to put him to death. Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune made answer to the messenger saying: 'I am not double-minded, but true to the Emperor whom I serve. What is then the crime of which I am accused? And if guiltless why should I suffer death?'

"Now there was living in Iki a certain man named Atae-no-maneko. This man greatly resembled Take-no-uchi-no-sukune. And being troubled in spirit that Take-no-uchi-no-sukune should be put to death without just cause he said unto him: 'All Japan knoweth thee to be a true man and a faithful one to our Lord the Emperor. Now, therefore, fleeing hence secretly, get thee to the Emperor and justify thyself before him. And furthermore men say that I greatly resemble thee. So, therefore, in place of thee, will

I die and thus show all men that thy heart is pure before our Lord.' Whereupon he slew himself with his sword.

"Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune was sad at heart and secretly leaving Kyūshū, took ship and came round by the southern ocean to the port of Kii and landed there. And from thence he came after much trouble to the court of the Emperor and told the Emperor concerning his innocence. Then the Emperor, perceiving some evil thing had been done, called both Take-no-uchi-no-sukune and Umashi-uchi-no-sukune before him. Whereupon each told his own story and there was no way to tell the true from the false. Then the Emperor commanded that prayer should be offered to the Heavenly gods and to the earthly gods and an ordeal by boiling water made (*kugulachi seshimu*). Whereupon Take-no-uchi-no-sukune and Umashi-uchi-no-sukune went together to the banks of the river Shiki and performed the ordeal (*kugulachi su*); and Take-no-uchi-no-sukune was justified by the gods. Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, taking his sword, struck down Umashi-uchi-no-sukune and would have slain him, but the Emperor commanded that he should be pardoned and handed over to the Arae family in Kii."

The next example occurred in the reign of the Emperor Inkyō: "In the fourth year, in the autumn, in the ninth month, being the year of the snake, on the first day of the month, being the day of the bull, the Emperor gave instructions and commanded, saying: 'In ancient times the people were ruled in peace and family names were never confused; but now in this, the fourth year since we came to the throne, do the lower and the higher among the people contend with one another and the people are not at peace, either peradventure making mistake, they have lost their proper names or intentionally taking names above their station they have appropriated them and there is no law in the land. Now peradventure it is we who are lacking in wisdom. How then may we correct our mistake?

Do you, attendants, taking counsel together, advise us in the matter.' Then the attendants with one voice answered : 'O Emperor! if pointing out the mistakes and correcting the wrong, the Emperor settles the family names, we, risking death, will tell to the Emperor the truth.' So in the year of the monkey the Emperor gave instructions, saying : 'Lords, High Dignitaries and other officers down to the governors, together have made answer and said : 'Verily the generations of the Emperor and the generations of his people are both likewise descended from heaven. Yet since the days when the three bodies (heaven, earth and humanity) were one, many years have passed and from one name many descendants have spread abroad and taken many family names, and now it is not easy to tell the true from the false. Therefore let all the people bathe and purify themselves and let each take oath before the gods to perform the ordeal by boiling water (*kuyadachi seyo*).'' So the priest gave orders, saying : 'At the end of the hill called the Amakashi hill let an iron pot (*kuyac*) be placed and let all the people be collected and gathered together there. Then shall those that speak the truth go through it unharmed ; but those that speak lies shall surely suffer.'

"Thereupon all the people, tying up their clothes by shoulder cords and going to the iron pot, performed the ordeal by boiling water (*kuyadachi su*). And those that spake the truth were by virtue of that unharmed ; but those that spake lies were all hurt. Therefore did the rest of the liars greatly fear and run away before ever they came to the hill. And from that time family names spontaneously settled themselves and there were no more liars." A result which satisfactorily accounts for the present almost painful veracity of the Japanese people.

A summary sketch of the history of the cult shall bring this paper to a close. At the dawn of history then we find the thing already a part of the nation's mythologic past ; and of the very far past too. Almost as soon as the

gods were, they began to visit one another in this spiritual way. They possessed each other first and then when they left the earth to their earthly descendents they kept on possessing them. Then Buddhism was brought into Japan, and eventually through Shintō made the acquaintance of these gad-about gods and so pleasurably that it proceeded to call upon them itself. Three Buddhist sects were thus introduced to the divine society; the Shingon, the Tendai, and subsequently the Nichiren, sects. The father of the Shingon sect in Japan, Kōbō Daishi, or Kūkai as he was known while he existed, was taught it, it is said, by the Emperor Sanga; and the father of the Tendai sect there, Denkyō Daishi by Kanono-agata-nushi-ushi-maru. But the most numerous and earnest practitioners of the art were a sect of Shintō formed out of pure Shinto and the Shingon sect of Buddhists, our Ryōbu Shintō so often mentioned. Meanwhile pure Shintō fell upon evil days. The middle ages were its dark ages. It, and the purer forms of occult practices with it, were alike occulted by the dazzling Buddhistic ritual. And so it continued till prosperous times turned antiquary attention to old records, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. These are the commentators. Scientifically their work is not without unintentional humor; but practically their effect was immense. For to them is due the restoration of the Emperor and the emergence of Shintō from its long eclipse. From a Shintō point of view the Meiji era, Enlightened Peace, is well named. For with its new lease of life Shintō entered again upon its own possessions, not least of which is the possession of the possession cult.

THE "HI NO MARU," OR NATIONAL FLAG OF JAPAN.

By W. G. ASTON, Esq.

[Read November 8th, 1893.]

In China, the offices of King and High-priest have never been disjoined, as they have long been amongst Aryan peoples; and the religious duties of the Emperor are still regarded as a most important part of his functions. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, perhaps as an inheritance from the rain-makers, sorcerers or medicine-men of remote antiquity, there has always been claimed for him a supernatural influence over the operations of Nature. If the sovereign is a wise and good man who discharges all his functions faithfully, not only will the country be well governed, but it will be free from such natural calamities as drought, famine, pestilence and earthquake, which are regarded as directly owing to his short-comings. We are told, for instance, in the *Li-ki*, a work compiled in the second century of our era from much older materials, that—

It in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and cold would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening: all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.¹

And similar quotations might be greatly multiplied.

When the Chinese began to speculate on the nature of things, they naturally endeavored to assign the Emperor a place in their rudimentary system of philosophy

¹ Legge's *Li ki*, Vol. I. p. 276.

which should be in accordance with these ideas. It is not at all by way of mere rhetorical flourish that he is likened to the Sun and Moon,² or said to form a triad with Heaven and Earth,³ but because he is regarded as holding a similar position in the economy of Nature. He too is an embodiment of the two great primordial principles the *yin* and the *yang*, in the mutual operation of which this Cosmos has its origin, and he represents more especially the *yang*, *i. e.* the male, bright, active, positive power, as opposed to the *yin*, which is regarded as female, dark, passive and negative. The Sun is the chief visible manifestation of the *yang*, as the moon is of the *yin*. A Chinese modern writer, quoted by Mayers, says—

As the Sun directs and symbolizes the sovereign ruler, so the Moon is an emblem and director of his con-sorts and ministers. The Emperor is said to 'call the Sun his elder brother and the moon his sister.'⁴

His ordinary title, 'Son of Heaven,' is obviously the outgrowth of similar ideas.

The use in China of the sun and moon on banners as emblems of sovereignty dates from a very remote period. 'The Hsia dynasty' (B. C. 2205-1766) says a Chinese work,⁵ 'exalted brightness (glory) by the sun and moon; the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766-1122) by the Tiger exalted military prestige; the Chow dynasty (B. C. 1122-255) by the Dragon exalted learning,' and the Chow Li, a more unexceptionable authority, mentions the Grand Standard of the Sun and Moon which was carried before the Emperor.⁶

The exact date at which this practice was adopted in Japan is unknown. We find, however, that as early as A.D. 700 the sun and moon were depicted on the banners displayed before the Imperial Palace on State occasions. The *Hakan Sansai D:uge*,⁷ probably quoting from the *Shoku Nihongi*, says:

² Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. I. p. 409. ³ Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. II. p. 256.

⁴ Mayer's Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 288. ⁵ The 司馬法.

⁶ Vide Chow Li, Biot's translation, Books XXVII and XXIX, also Schlegel's *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 384. ⁷ Vol. XX. p. 3.

The Emperor Mommu, on the first day of the first month of the first year of Taihō (A.D. 700) held a Court in the Taikyoku Hall, when at the front gate there was set up a flag with the figure of a crow, on the left, flags with images of the sun, of the Azure dragon, and of the red bird, and on the right, flags with images of the moon, of the Dark Warrior and of the White Tiger. The Envoys of barbarous countries formed lines to right and left.⁸

It is clear from the following passage of the *Li-ki*⁹ that there was here a direct imitation of Chinese models :—

On the march the banner with the Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the Right; that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel (Charles's Wain) should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host) all to excite and direct the fury of the troops.

Note by Dr. Legge.—The Red Bird was the name of the seven constellations of the southern quarter of the Zodiac: the Dark Warrior embraced those of the northern, the Azure Dragon those of the Eastern, and the Tiger those of the Western.¹⁰

The choice and arrangement of these astronomical emblems are connected with one of those wide-spread superstitions regarding the northern region of the heavens, concerning which much curious information has been brought together by Mr. John O'Neill in his remarkable work, 'The Right of the Gods.'¹¹ Here all that need be said is that in the Far East, the North is the sacred quarter. The Sovereign stands in the North on all state occasions. His palace is in the northern part of the city, and faces the South. The dead are laid out with their heads to the north, and the living carefully avoid this position for

⁸ A similar description is given in the *Yengi-shiki* (901-922). It has been translated at length in Dr. Florenz's *Nihongi*, pt. iii., p. 12. ⁹ Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. I pp. 91-92.

¹⁰ See the accompanying drawings, Figs. 1 to 5, taken from the 五經圖景 or illustrations of the five classics, a work compiled by a Japanese writer from Chinese sources. Schlegel describes these figures somewhat differently. Vide his *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 384.

¹¹ London, Quaritch, 1893.

sleep. It is not clear why the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should have been omitted in the above mentioned descriptions of the ceremonial banners in Japan.

In China, in modern times, Benetnash (the Pointer of the Northern Bushel), is figured on a governor's flag, which is accordingly called by the name of this star.¹²

It will be observed that the Dark Warrior is represented (Fig. 2) by a tortoise, which is an older name for that section of the Zodiac. The modern Shintō ceremonial¹³ has adopted the four flags indicating the four quarters, under the name of the *Shijin no hata* or *Shijin no hoko*, i. e. the flags or spears of the four Kami, giving however only one animal on each.

The name of the Audience Hall mentioned in the above extract is in strict accordance with the ideas which underlie the choice of the sun and moon as emblems of sovereignty. It is the Hall of *Tai-Kyoku* (Chinese *Tai-ki*), i. e. the primordial principle from which, according to some Chinese philosophers, the *Yin* and *Yang* are evolved, and the symbol of which may be seen associated with this in Fig. 16.

How comes it that the crow takes the leading position in such illustrious astronomical company? Obviously, this bird is no denizen of an earthly rookery. It can be no other than the *yan-wu* 陽鳥 or Sun-crow, also called the Golden Crow of Chinese mythology, a bird of a red colour with three legs, which is supposed to have its abode in the Sun. The Crow-banner and the Sun-banner are therefore mere variants of one another. The Sun is frequently depicted with a Crow on his surface, just as the Moon has a hare,¹⁴ the latter being usually represented as pounding in a mortar, under a mythical cassia tree, drugs for the manufacture of the elixir of life. Examples of this may be seen in Figs. 6 and 7, which are taken

¹² Vide Giles's Dictionary.

¹³ Vide Shintō Miomoku ruijiushō, Vol. II, p. 11.

¹⁴ See Meyers Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 218.

from the *Sansaidzuye*, Vol. I. pp. 6 and 8, and in Figs. 8 and 9, which are copied from an illustration of Utô, a novel by Kiyôden, representing an Imperial reception in the 10th century.

It may at first sight seem somewhat far-fetched to identify this crow with the *Yatagarasu* of the Jimmu Tennô legend, which is related in the *Nihongi*¹⁵ as follows :—

The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior or the country, but the mountains were so precipitous that there was no road by which he could travel, and the troops wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (the Sun-goddess) instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying :—‘I will now send thee the *Yatagarasu*. Make it thy guide through the land.’ Upon this the *Yatagarasu* actually made its appearance, having come flying down from the sky. The Emperor said, ‘The coming of this crow is of course in accordance with our lucky dream. How grand! how splendid! Our Imperial Ancestor Ama-terasu no Oho-kami wishes therewith to assist Us in accomplishing our undertaking.’

Heaps of crudite rubbish have been accumulated over this bird by Motoori Norinaga and other Shintoists whose prejudices would not allow them to see anything Chinese in the history of Jimmu Tennô. We, however, need have no hesitation in following the *Wammosho*,¹⁶ which, on the authority of the *Shiki*, ancient commentaries on the *Nihongi*, says simply that the *Yang-wu* or Sun-crow is the *Yatagarasu*.

If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet *yata*, which has puzzled the commentators, becomes clear to us. *Yata* is literally ‘eight hands,’ or as the same word *ya* or *yatsu* means both ‘eight’ and ‘many,’ in ancient Japanese ‘many hands.’ *Yata*—

¹⁵ Vol. III. p. 11. Shukai edition. See also Chamberlain’s *Kojiki*, p. 136.

¹⁶ A Chinese-Japanese Vocabulary of the 10th century. The definition of *Yang-wu* by *Yatagarasu* occurs in the first page of the first volume.

garasu is therefore the 'many-handed crow,' which is quite sufficiently correct for a popular description of the sun-crow with its three claws. And when it is remembered that it came flying down from heaven as a present from the Sun-goddess, and that it was associated with the Emperor, it is tolerably evident that the story of Jimmu Tennō's *Yata-garasu* had its origin in the sun-crow banner above mentioned. It may be objected that the date (A.D. 700, or only 12 years before the compilation of the *Kojiki* and 20 before that of the *Nihongi*) on which such a flag is first spoken of scarcely allows time for the formation of this legend. But there is strong reason to believe that these banners were in use from a much earlier period. In 602 we read¹⁷ of painted banners being made by the Heir to the Throne with the permission of the Empress, and the *Sei-shi-roku*¹⁸ has the following passage, which I translate at length, as it has a bearing on the important subject of the first introduction of the art of painting into Japan :

Ōoka no Imiki. This family is sprung from a descendant of the Wei Emperor Wen Ti, named An Kikong (安 貴 公), who came and settled in Japan in the reign of the Emperor Yūriaku (457-479) with a party of four persons. His son Riō, also called Shinki, was a good painter. The Emperor Wohat-use Waka-sasagi (499-506) admired his talent and granted him the title of Obito. A descendant in the fifth generation named 劉大壹惠尊 was also a skilful painter and was granted the surname of Yamato Ye-shi (Japan Painter) in the reign of Tenchi Tennō (662-671). The Empress Shōtoku in 769 granted them anew the title of Ōoka no Imiki from their place of residence. *Hata buni no Miyakko*, same (descent) as the last.

The above passage occurs at p. 110. The Tsūshō commentary on the *Nihongi* (from which Dr. Florenz has made his translation) makes a mess of this quotation.

Hata buni no Miyakko means 'Chief of the Banner-painters' (or perhaps 'Court Banner-painter'), showing

¹⁷ *Nihongi*, Shukai Edition, Vol. XXII. p. 9.

¹⁸ A sort of peerage of Japan, compiled A. D. 815.

that one of the duties of this family of artists of Chinese extraction was to paint the flags used for state purposes. It has been already shown that the designs on these flags, the sun-crow among the rest, were of Chinese origin, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were introduced by these artists when they came over to Japan in Yûriaku's reign. This would give the sun-crow banner a very considerable antiquity.

A Japanese family claimed descent from the Yatagarasu, though by what intermediate stages of development is not explained. Mr. Takahasbi Goro in his dictionary informs us that Yatagarasu was the name of one of Jimmu Tennô's generals, and Klaproth thinks it probable that the 'corbeau à huit pattes designe la boussole dont Zimmou s'est servi pour se guider dans son expédition.'

The crow, however, does not always appear on the sun-banner, and I have not met with any example of it in recent times. It does not figure on the flags shown at p. 3, Vol. XX., of the *Wakan sanzai zshukai*, which are described as the Mikado no hata, or Imperial ensigns.¹⁹ The sun and moon are here quite plain, and, although alike in the drawings, were distinguished by the former being in gold and the latter in silver. Nor is the crow mentioned by the late Mr. McClatchie in his paper on Heraldry, read before this Society in 1877, in which several instances are cited of the *Hi no Maru* or sun-circle being represented on flags from the reign of the Emperor Takakura (1169-1180) downwards.

In 1859, when Japan was opened to foreign commerce, the need of a national, as distinguished from an imperial flag, became felt, and the *Hinomaru*, as a red ball on a white ground,²⁰ was appropriated for this purpose, while a representation of the *Kiku* or Chrysanthemum,²¹ was adopted as the badge figured on the standard borne before the Mikado when he appears in public. I am inclined

¹⁹ See Figs. 10 and 11.

²⁰ Fig. 12.

²¹ Fig. 13.

to believe, with a Japanese authority referred to by Mr. McClatchie, that this is not really a Chrysanthemum,²² but was originally intended for the Sun. Some further evidence however on this point is desirable. The member of petals, sixteen, corresponds to the number of rays which proceed from the Sun figured on the flag of the War Department.²³ This number is not selected at hap-hazard. It is one of those produced by multiplying two on itself (2^n), of which there are examples in the four cardinal points, the eight *kwa* or diagrams of Chinese philosophy, the thirty-two points of the compass and the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yih-king*.

The Korean national flag, (Fig. 15), although quite different from the Japanese, has its origin in the same order of ideas. The two comma-like figures entwined on each other in the centre represent the Yin and Yang, while the groups of continuous and broken lines around it are four of the eight *kwa*, for a full account of which Legge's *Yih-king* may be consulted.

Fig. 16, which is taken from a modern Japanese print of a battle fought in 1554, shows the emblem of the Yin, Yang and *Taiki* (in Japanese *In*, *Yō* and *Taikyoku*) surmounted by a figure of the sun with thirty-two rays—a combination, in short, of the motifs of the present Japanese and Korean flags.

The Dragon represents the *Yang*, and it is probably in this capacity that it figures on the national flag of China.

I have seen a drawing of a Loochooan flag with two white tigers as in Fig. 4, and the tiger is also sometimes figured on flags in Corea as well as in China and Japan. This animal is one of the numerous embodiments of the *Yang*, or masculine principle.

²² Fig. 14.

²³ Mr. J. O'Neill suggests that the so-called Chrysanthemum is really the 'Wheel of the Law.' I trust some member of the Society resident in Japan will settle this point, which is an interesting one.



Fig.1. *The Red Bird.*



Fig.2. *The Dark Warrior.*



Fig.3. *The Azure Dragon.*

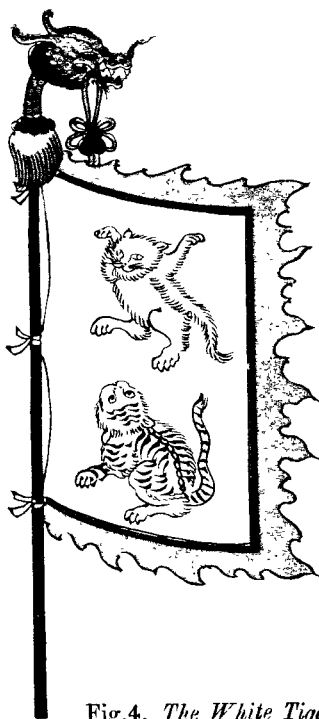


Fig.4. *The White Tiger.*

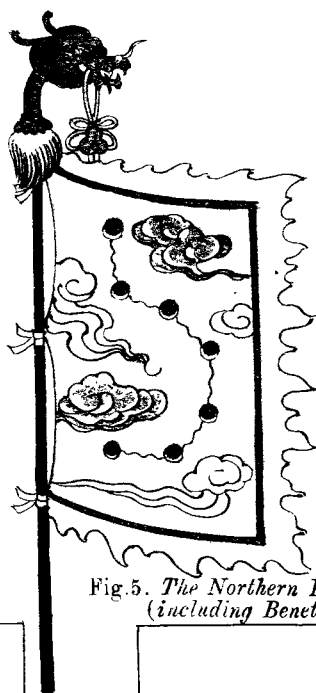


Fig. 5. *The Northern Bushel*
(including Benetnash).



Fig. 6. *The Sun and Sun-crow.*

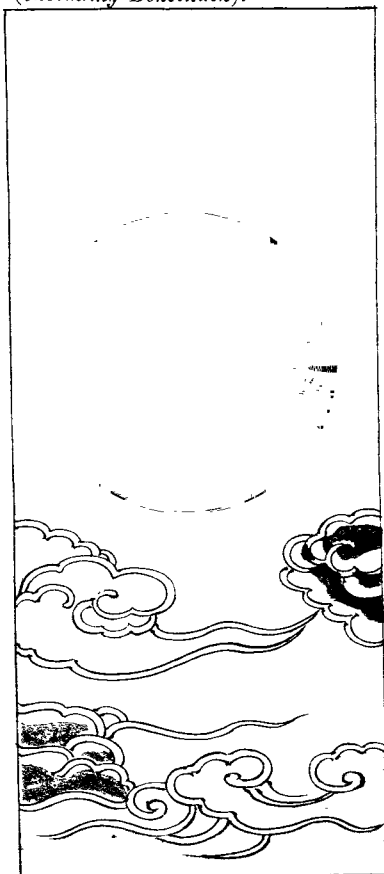


Fig. 7. *The Moon and Hare.*

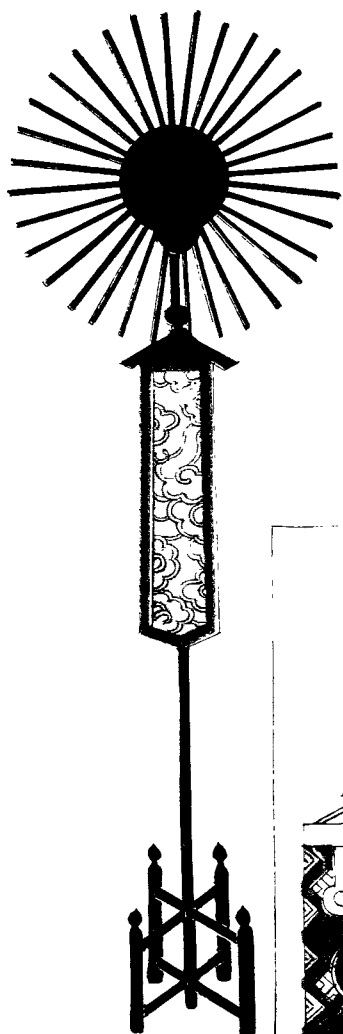


Fig 8. *The Sun-banner.*

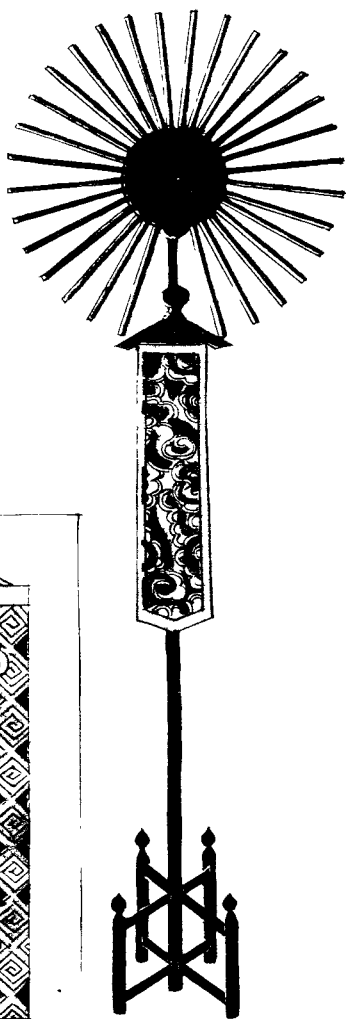
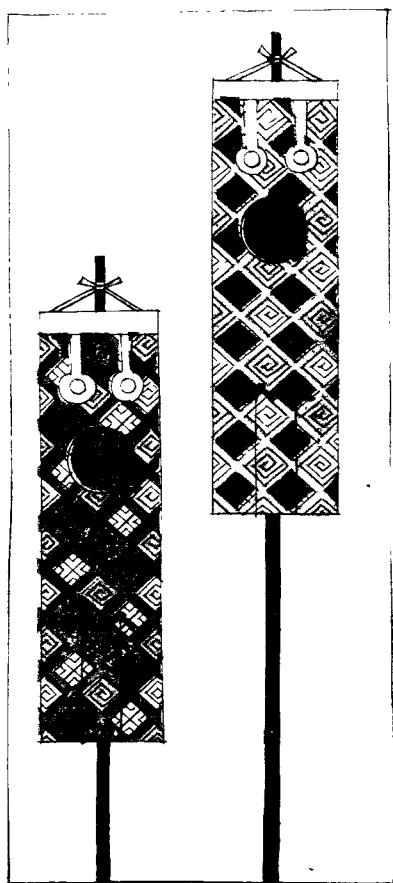


Fig.9. *The Moon-banner.*



Figs. 10 and 11. *Mikado no Hata.*

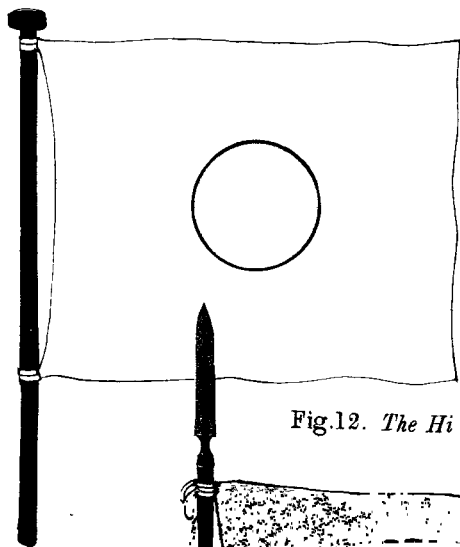


Fig.12. *The Hi no Maru.*

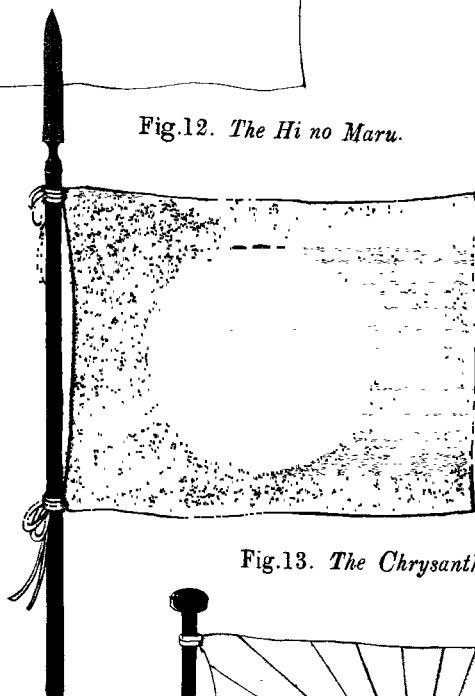


Fig.13. *The Chrysanthemum.*

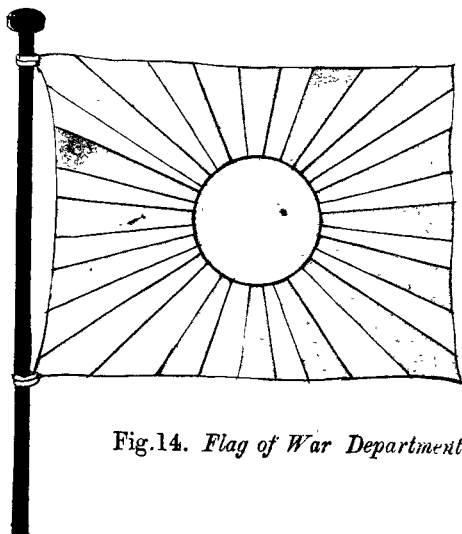


Fig.14. *Flag of War Department.*

Fig.15. *Corean Flag.*

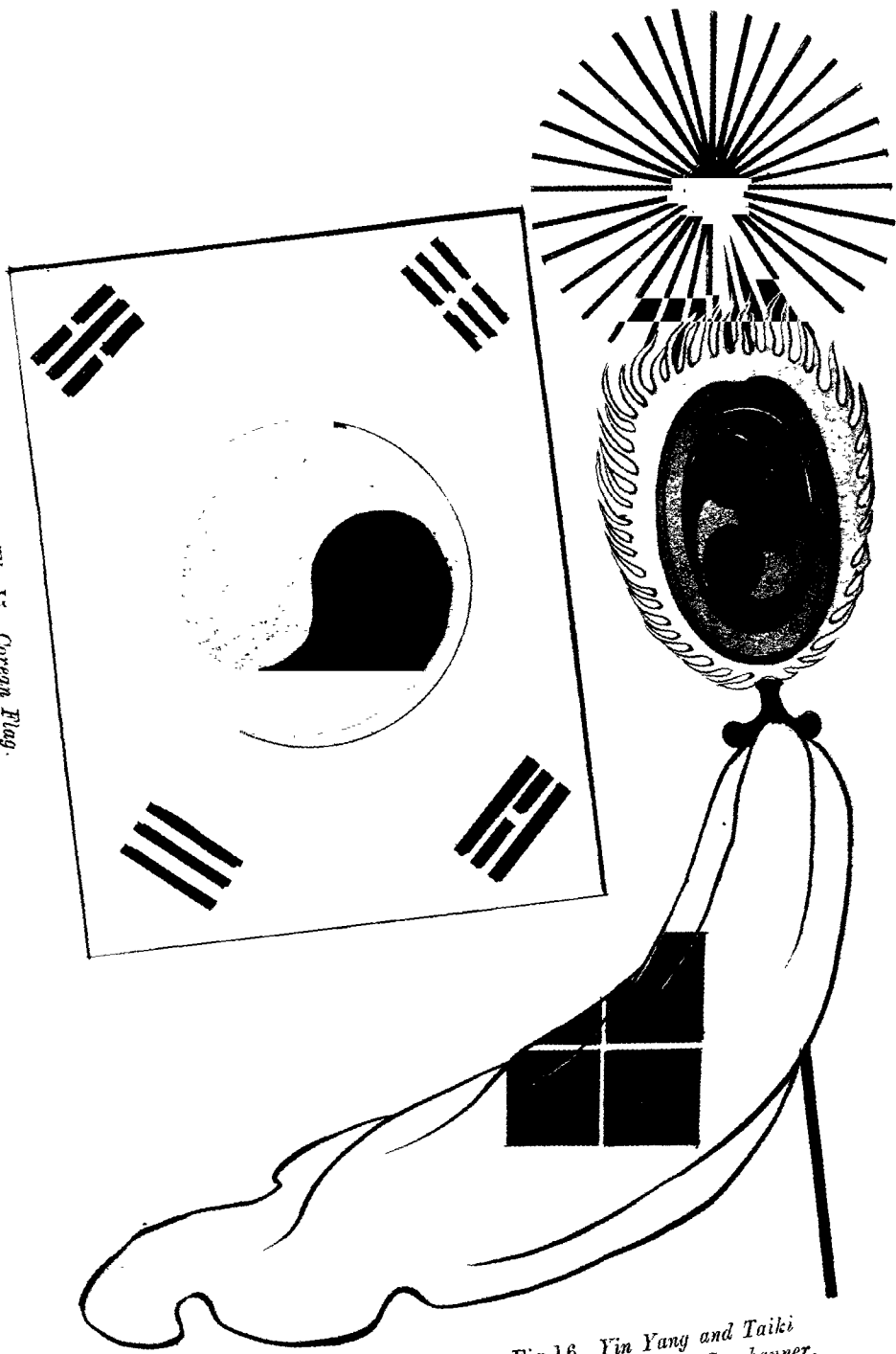


Fig.16. *Yin Yang and Taijitu combined with Sun-banner.*

MA TWAN-LIN'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN UP TO A.D. 1200.

INCLUDING THE JAPANESE CHRONICLES AS
WRITTEN DOWN FOR THE CHINESE BY THE
JAPANESE IN A.D. 1000.

BY E. H. PARKER, ESQ.

[*Read November 8th, 1893.*]

In the 2nd year of the Wei period King-ch'ü [A.D. 238], after the subduing of the man Kung-sun,¹ the female ruler of the Wo sent a high dignitary, Nan-shêng-mi² and others to the prefectural city [of Tai-fang, near modern Söul], begging permission to proceed to the Emperor's court to offer their duty. The prefect had them escorted to the capital, when a gold seal and a purple seal-ribbon were conferred upon the female prince, together with the title of "Prince of Wo, friend to Wei." Nan-shêng-mi and his companions were at the same time given the title of *chun-ling-hiao-wei*,³ together with a silver seal carrying a dark-coloured seal-ribbon,⁴ and all were entertained very liberally.

¹ Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵, son of one Liu K'ang 劉康, a scion of the Han dynasty, had set himself up as a sort of semi-independent ruler of Liao Tung. The Wei dynasty was that founded by the celebrated Ts'ao Ts'ao.

² 雌升米. Perhaps there was only one other.

³ 中郎校尉

⁴ The word 綬 has hitherto been translated "sash" in this connection, but it appears to have been a sort of sling appendage to the seal.

In the 1st year of the period Cheng-shi [A.D. 240], the prefect Kung Tsun⁵ despatched an envoy to take with him the imperial commands and the seals; he also carried with him an imperial manifesto, bestowing gold cloth, embroidered tapestry, knives, mirrors, and other gay objects. The Prince of Wo state sent an envoy to submit an address expressing acknowledgment of and thanks for the gracious manifestoes.

In the fourth year [A.D. 243], she sent another envoy to offer a number of human beings and local articles.⁶ In the 8th year [A.D. 247], the prefect Wang K'i⁷ came to take over charge. Pi-mi-hu,⁸ the female prince of Wo, had for some time been on unfriendly terms with Pi-mi-kung, the male prince of Kou-nu or K'ü-nu⁹ state. She accordingly sent envoys or messengers to the prefectural city to explain the reasons why they were at war with each other, and an officer named Chang Chêng¹⁰ was sent at the head of a party to carry an imperial manifesto to her and warn her.

⁵ 弓遜. killed a few years later whilst fighting against the Korean states. The envoy's name is stated by the *Wei Chi* to be 孫傳.

⁶ The *Wei Chi* gives full details of the presents. The envoys and suite numbered eight, and the names of one or more in Chinese character were 伊 孫 芳 掖 邪 孫 (? Iseigi Yashako).

⁷ One of the generals sent to North Korea, the first to discover the Pacific.

⁸ 卑彌呼. I believe Japanese scholars take this to stand for *hime-ko*. I notice that Hepburn gives *hime* as "princess," and also *hime miko*. As the modern Japanese pronunciation of the three Chinese characters is *himiko*, this conjecture seems a good one. But, in that case, how is it that a male prince is also called *Pi-mi-kung* 弓 or *himiko*? Possibly the reference is to the rebellion of Prince Inkō 忍皇.

⁹ 狗奴, often written 拘奴.

¹⁰ 張政: his title was 襄陽校吏; but 晉 seems a mis-print for 曹.

After Pi-mi-hu's death,¹¹ a male prince was set up instead, but the people were not satisfied, and a civil war ensued; so a female descendant of Pi-mi-hu named Yih-yü,¹² aged 13, was once more made prince, and the country was then at peace. Yih-yü sent an envoy¹³ to escort Chêng and his party back, and by the same opportunity offered a number of human beings of both sexes, white and other¹⁴ pearls, and mixed prints.

In the 1st year of the Tsin Emperor Wu Ti's reign T'ai-shi¹⁵ [A.D. 265], an envoy was sent with interpreters to bring tribute. In the time of the [Eastern Tsin] Emperor An [A.D. 397-405], the Wo Prince Tsan¹⁶ sent an envoy to court with tribute. In the second year of the Sung Emperor Wu Ti's reign Yung-chu [A.D. 421] a manifesto ran:—"The distant loyalty of Tsan of Wo merits notice. Let some office be bestowed upon him." In the 2nd year of the Emperor Wen Ti's reign Yüan-kia [A.D. 425], Tsan again sent an envoy to submit an address and offer local articles. On Tsan's death his younger brother Chen¹⁷ succeeded, and

¹¹ The *Wei Chu* says an immense tomb was made for her, and numerous slaves slaughtered.

¹² 登 皇

¹³ The above surmised Yashako came again as her envoy.

¹⁴ The "other pearls" are described as 青火明珠 to which the *Wei-chu* adds the character 孔.

¹⁵ Mayers' Manual misprints the character 太 as 泰. The Sz-ma family of Tsin had now conquered China.

¹⁶ 讚 This would probably be the Prince or *Mikado* Richū 履中, under whose reign (400-5) recording officers are said to have been first distributed over Japan. Mr. Chamberlain considers Japanese "history" unreliable, previous to this date at least.

¹⁷ See page 233 of my paper on *Early Japanese History*, published in the *China Review* for 1890. Ma Twan-lin seems to have taken this part from the *Nan-shu*. Mr. Aston calls 珍 the son of 讚. The three Japanese "Emperors" who succeeded Nintoku 313-299 were all his sons, and consequently there is nothing inconsistent in the text.

sent envoys to offer tribute, styling himself "Commissioner and General Administering the military affairs of the six states Wo, Peh-tsi, Sin-lo, Jên-na, Fêng-han,¹⁸ and Mu-han, Generalissimo for the pacification of the East, Prince of Wo," and begging that this title might be legalised. A manifesto appointed him "Generalissimo for the Pacification of the East, Chên, Prince of Wo State." He then begged for the legalisation of such titles as "Pacifactor of the West to march against the bandits, assistant generalissimo," etc., for thirteen others, of whom Wo Wei¹⁹ was one. A manifesto acceded to this too. In the 20th year [A.D. 443] Tsi,²⁰ Prince of Wo, sent an envoy to offer duty, and he also was made "Prince of Wo, Generalissimo, Pacifactor of the East;" and in the 28th year [A.D. 451] the other "Commissioner and general, etc., of the Six States" [as above] were added as before, and dignities were also conferred upon 23 other individuals recommended by him. On Tsi's death his heir Hing²¹ sent envoys to offer duty. In the 6th year of the Emperor Hiao-wu's period Ta-ming [A.D. 462], a manifesto appointed Hing to be "generalissimo Pacifactor of the East, Prince of Wo." On Hing's death his younger brother Wu²² succeeded, and styled

¹⁸ Fêng 奉 is a mis-print for Ts'in 秦. All these were Corean, i. e. peninsular states. The "East" probably means Ainos.

¹⁹ 倭南. It may perhaps mean that the whole thirteen were of either the Wo or Wei nation or sub-nation: 南 may be the same as 濊 in north-east Corea. ²⁰ 濟

²¹ Thus Tsan would be the "Emperor" Richiu 履中, Chên his brother Hanzei 反正, and Tsi 濟 his brother Ingyō 允恭. Hing 興 must have been Ankō 安康, whom the Japanese histories call "son of Ingyō."

²² Wu 武 was the "Emperor" Yūriaku 雄略, said by Japanese history to have been brother to Ankō. The fact that he is therein styled 武尊 strengthens this view, which, however, is already clear enough. But it must be remembered that all Chinese-aped titles conferred upon Japanese "Emperors" were posthumously and retrospectively done centuries later. Otherwise the *Nan Shū* perfectly accords with Japanese history.

himself "Commissioner, and general charged with the military administration of the seven states" [as above], adding Kia-lo,²³ "generalissimo Pacificator of the East, Prince of Wo."

In the 2nd year of the Emperor Shun Ti's reign period Shêng-ming [A.D. 478], he sent an envoy to say:—"From ancient times till now my ancestors²⁴ have "girded on their own armour, and travelled regardless "of their ease and comfort over hill and dale to "conquer fifty-five states of Hairy Men in the east, and "have subdued sixty-six states of miscellaneous barbarians "in the west; they have conquered ninety-five states north "of the Sea;²⁵ the blessings of civilization have been "spread, and the country has been enlarged in every "direction. Successive generations of royal ancestors have "been free from unpropitious years. They passed through "Peh-tsi,²⁶ and equipped their boats. But Keu-li,²⁷ "destitute of principle, was covetous of annexing it, "my officers are no more and my father has passed "away.²⁸ I was just about to raise a great army to

²³ Hiaksai, Shinra, Mimara, Shinkan, Bokan, and Kara (加羅) were all parts of South Korea; but, as I have elsewhere shewn, the Japanese never had any power over Kaoli, Koryë, or Chinese-owned Korea in the north.

²⁴ 祖彌 [should be 彌]. Everything leads to shew that the Scythian-Turks, Japanese, and all other nations having border relations with China, commenced at a very early date to correspond in Chinese, either engaging Chinese secretaries, or [at first rarely] learning Chinese themselves.

²⁵ 海北 probably refers to what is now called Hokkaidô 北海道.

²⁶ Hiaksai, the south-western part of the Korean peninsula.

²⁷ 句麗 of the Kao 高 family, hence called Kao Keu-li, and thence incorrectly Kao-li, Ko-ryë, or Korea.

²⁸ 臣亡考諱. I can only guess at the last two characters' meaning. Yüriaiu's father was murdered by a son named 眉輪, but that has nothing to do with Hiaksai. Japanese history says:—"In A.D. 476 Kaoli annihilated "Peh-tsi, killing the king and his son." This seems to have some connection with the "father and elder brother."

"avenge my father and elder brother and prevent them from completing their success. I am now about to train up an army in order to avenge the memory of my father and elder brother. I have ventured to borrow the princely style with rights on a par with the three *Ši*.⁴⁰ I am also fain to borrow all the rest with a view to stimulate my loyalty." An imperial manifesto appointed Wu "Commissioner and General in military charge of the six states [as above, omitting Peh-tsi, and Generalissimo *in command of* the east." When Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty came to the throne [A.D. 502], Wu was promoted to be Generalissimo *marching against* the east.

The Chên dynasty [A.D. 567-588] was conquered,⁴⁰ and so things went on till the 20th year of the Sui dynasty's period K'ai-hwang [A.D. 600], when the Wo prince's family name was A-mei,⁴¹ his personal name To-li-sz-pi-ku, and his appellation A-pei-ki-mi.⁴²

He sent an envoy to our Court. His Majesty ordered the officers concerned to enquire into [Japanese]

⁴⁰ 三公司; i. e. 司徒, 司空, and 太尉. These privileges were first given to one 陸 in the latter Han dynasty. The three *Ši* had the right to 府辟召, like the Roman tribunes. Of course the "Emperor" must have had a Chinese secretary to prompt him.

⁴¹ At this time mushroom dynasties rose and fell in rapid succession in China.

⁴² Japanese scholars can perhaps make something out of these words. *Ame* in Japanese may stand for 天, and *Komi* for 君. *Hiko* is Japanese for "great-grandson," and is also an obsolete word having the sense of "honorable" (the *Kojiki* uses the characters 毗古 in this sense). I cannot guess at *tohis*; but *ato-tori* is Japanese for "heir." Perhaps the whole is Mi. Aston's *Ame-no-natarishi-hiko*. The Chinese characters for all the above names are 阿每多利思比孤阿翬鷄翁.

⁴³ The Empress Suiko 推古 reigned from A.D. 593 to A.D. 628, but the reins of state were placed in the hands of her heir the Ōji 皇子 Mmayado 廢戶. The Japanese History says that one 大禮 小野妹子 was sent on a mission to Sui in A.D. 609.

customs. The envoy said:—"The Wo Prince considers "heaven his elder and the sun his younger brother. "At dawn he goes out to hear matters of government "sitting in state cross-legged. On the sun appearing "he ceases the conduct of business, and leaves it to me "his younger brother."³ The Emperor Wên Ti said:—"This is most outrageous talk," and admonitions were at once given for it to be altered. The prince's wife's family-name is *Ki-mi mut-loan*.⁴ She has 600 or 700 women.⁵ The name for "heir to the throne" is *li-ko-mi to-tut li*.⁶ There are no cities in our sense, and there are twelve ranks of inferior officers in the following order: 1. Great Virtue. 2. Small Virtue. 3. Great Benevolence. 4. Small Benevolence. 5. Great Justice. 6. Small Justice. 7. Great Ceremony. [Evidently the title of the above-named envoy.] 8. Small Ceremony. 9. Great Wisdom. 10. Small Wisdom. 11. Great Faith. 12. Small Faith.⁷

Of lesser officials there is no fixed number. There are 120 *Kun-m*,⁸ corresponding to the Chinese *muh-tsai*. Over each 80 families⁹ is placed an *i-ni-yih*, like our present village headmen. Ten *ni-yih* are under one *kuni*. As to clothes and bedizements, the males wear jacket-petticoats¹⁰ with very diminutive sleeves. Their shoes

³ 云委我乎 seems more likely to mean this than "and therefore he has despatched me here." ⁴ 雞野沒官.

⁵ Unfortunately the *Kojiki* ends with Suiko, and says nothing about her at all.

⁶ 利哥多弗利 I resign this to Mr. Chamberlain.

⁷ With the characters 大 and 小 prefixed, the Chinese words are 德, 仁, 義, 智, 信, the last five being the Chinese "five constant virtues" 五德.

⁸ 郡. This is clearly the Japanese word *kuni*, for which they sometimes use the Chinese character 國, but doubtless 郡 is etymologically the proper character. The Chinese 牧 was over a 郡. See the Japanese priest's geographical account later on.

⁹ I can get no nearer to this than *maka*, the "country or "villages." ¹⁰ 褌.

are like sandals, lacquered on the upper face, and bound to the foot; but most of the common people go barefoot and are not allowed to use gold or silver as ornaments, so they often wear a *sarany*,⁴¹ the ends of which are tied but never sewn. They have no hats, simply letting the the hair hang over the two ears. But in Sui times their prince adopted the hat, made up with gay ornamentation and flowers carved out of gold or silver. The women tie up the hair behind, and also wear the above jacket-petticoat. Their lower garments are all braided or trimmed round the edge, and they bind sharpened bits of bamboo together to serve as combs. They make *tatamis*⁴² out of straw, and fashion their upper garments out of miscellaneous skins, using patterned skins for trimming. They have bows, arrows, swords, crossbows, long and short spears, and hatchets. Their armour is made of lacquered hide; their arrow barbs of bone. Though they have soldiers, there are no fighting campaigns. Whenever their prince holds a formal court, the cortège and paraphernalia must all be set out. There are about 100,000 families of musicians in the country. The practice is for murder, robbery and rape to be punished with death. Robbery without violence is punished by compensation according to what is taken, and if the thief has no property his person becomes a slave. As for other offences, grave or otherwise, they are punished with banishment or the bastinado. In the trial of cases where a great wrong has been suffered, those who will not confess have their knees squeezed with a piece of wood, or have their necks sawn with the tight string of a very powerful bow. Or small stones are placed in boiling water, and the disputants are ordered to take them out. It is supposed that he who is in the wrong gets his hand scalded. Or,

⁴¹横幅. This is the term always used in Chinese histories for the Malay or Burmese style of garment. ⁴²蓆.

again, a snake is put in a jar, and they are made to take it out; it being supposed that he who is in the wrong will get his hands bitten. The people are very tranquilly disposed, and but little litigious; there are few robberies or thefts. There are five kinds of musical instruments,—guitars, harmoniums, and flutes. Most of the women tattoo the arm, touch up the face, and ornament the body. They dive into the water after fish. They have no written character;⁴³ they merely carve wood or knot cords. They are Buddhists, and it was only after obtaining the Buddhist *sutras* from Peh-tsi that they had written characters.⁴⁴ They understand the art of divination, and are still greater believers in wizards and witches. On the first day of the first moon they invariably have shooting games and drink wine. The rest of their fête-days are much as in China. They are fond of such games as chess, draughts, and dice. The climate is soft and warm, vegetation blooming even in winter. The land is fat and rich. There is more water

⁴³ This seems to mean they do not make use of the Chinese written character.

⁴⁴ In the introduction to Giles' Chinese dictionary, I have advanced the theory that the Japanese derived the idea of their *Katakana* from the *Ōnman* of the Koreans, who again derived their syllabary through Buddhist missionaries from the Sanskrit. I believe Mr. Aston considers the Korean *Ōnman* to be of much later date than the *Katakana*. But there is a total uncertainty as to when the *Ōnman* really was invented, and by whom. The usually received theory is that it was introduced by a bonze named Syél Chong 薛聰 in the 9th century. But a Korean named Yi-ik-seup writes somewhat flippantly in the Korean repository to shew that it was the fourth King Syei Chong 世宗 of the present Li or Ngí dynasty in the 15th century who invented it. As all the Indo-Chinese alphabets were formed from Sanskrit or Pali about this time, I see no reason to reject my previously expressed view that Hindoo bonzes also invented a syllabary for Peh-tsi or Hiaksai, whence the idea was communicated to Japan, who derived the whole of its civilization, through South Corea, from China and India, and whose priests subsequently improved upon the Korean syllabary.

than dry land [in the insular group]. They hang small rings upon the throats of cormorants⁴⁵ and make them go into the water to catch fish, of which they will [each] take over a hundred in one day. They are not in the habit of using dishes or bowls, but they make use of large leaves instead. They use their fingers for eating. Their disposition is frank, and they are refined in manner. The women are more numerous than the men. In marriages they do not take women of their own clan-name,⁴⁶ otherwise those of either sex who take a fancy to one of the other marry. When the woman enters her husband's house, she must first bestraddle fire,⁴⁷ after which she may see her husband. The women are neither lewd nor jealous.⁴⁸ The dead are shrouded in a double coffin, and the relatives and guests approach the corpse singing and dancing. Wife, children, and brothers wear white as mourning. The nobles leave the body to lie in state for three years, but the commoners divine a day for sepulture. When the burial takes place, the corpse is placed on a boat which is dragged along the dry land; or sometimes a small cart is used. There is a Mount Asu,⁴⁹ from whose rocks fire without reason shoots up to the skies, which they are wont to consider a prodigy: hence they sacrifice and pray to it.⁵⁰ There is a sort of "wishing pearl,"⁵¹ of a

⁴⁵ It would thus seem that the Chinese owe at least one idea to the Japanese.

⁴⁶ The *Kobune* is apparently meant. How is it Mr. Chamberlain does not touch on this point in his *Things Japanese*?

⁴⁷ This is also a Chinese custom as described in my *Comparative Chinese Family Law*.

⁴⁸ This holds good still. However lax they may be, the Japanese women have singularly little lewdness in their composition. As to jealousy, it always depends upon whether the man is worth being jealous for. I leave this point to Sir Edwin Arnold.

⁴⁹ 阿蘇山, in Japanese Aso-san.

⁵⁰ I believe Mr. Kanaoki, or Kataoki, is now engaged in at least inspecting it. ⁵¹ 如意寶珠.

darkish tinge, as big as a hen's egg, which shines at night. They are said to be fishes' eyes.⁵²

Shinra and Hiaksai both consider Wo a great country with many precious things, and look up to it accordingly. Embassies are constantly passing from one to the other.⁵³

In the 3rd year of Tai-yeh [A.D. 607], the Prince To-li-sz-pi-ku⁵⁴ sent a tribute mission to Court. The envoy said:—It having been heard that the *Bodhisattra*⁵⁵ Son of Heaven west of the Sea approves of the rise of Buddhism, a mission is sent to do obeisance in full court, and a score or two of *Sramana*⁵⁶ have come besides to study Buddhism. The state epistle ran:—“The Son of Heaven “from the place where the sun rises sends a letter enquiring after the welfare of the Son of Heaven of the place “where the sun sets,” etc., etc. The Emperor was displeased when he read this, and said to the President of the Sacrificial Court:—“Do not bring before me again any “barbarian letters which are lacking in propriety.” The next year his majesty sent the Hanlin Pui Shi-ts'ing⁵⁷ on a mission to Wo state. He crossed over to Pch-tsi, reached the island of Chuh⁵⁸ whence he could see Tan-lo⁵⁹ state south. He passed Tu-sz-

⁵² In Peru quite recently the eyes of some marine mon-sters have been taken out of mummies hundreds or thousands of years old, still looking quite fresh and still smelling of sea-water.

⁵³ For the Relation of the Korean States with Japan, see my papers on *Early Japanese History* (*China Review*, 1890), and *Race Struggles in Korea* [*Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions*, Vol. XVIII].

⁵⁴ This [see above] must be Mr. Aston's [Wu] *Ta-ri-shu Hiko*, the syllable changes being historically quite regular in their nature. This man must be identical with the *Ta-li* mentioned above. I suppose 小野 would be *Kono*, and 妹手 would be *Imoto* in Japanese.

⁵⁵ Chinese *p'u-sa* [t] : Japanese *hosatsu*.

⁵⁶ Chinese *shamen*, Japanese *shamon*.

⁵⁷ 文林郎裴世清. Probably equivalent to the modern Hanlin.

⁵⁸ 竹島. Modern sounds would be Tsukushima or Chikushima.

⁵⁹ 耽羅 : an old name for Quelpaert 濟州

ma⁶⁰ state in the middle of the ocean; then east to Yih-chi⁶¹ state, and then to Chuh-sz⁶² state; then east to the Ts'in prince state,⁶³ where the people are the same as in China. He took it to be I-chou.⁶⁴ but was unable to solve the riddle.

Then he passed a dozen or more states, and got to the sea shore. From Chuh-sz eastwards all were dependent states of Wo. The Wo prince sent the Small Virtue Ho Pei-t'ai⁶⁵ with a suite of several hundred persons, having their paraphernalia set out, drums beating, and horns blowing to come and welcome him. Ten days later the Great Ceremony K'i-to-p'i⁶⁶ with a following of over 200 horsemen, gave him a formal reception outside the walls.⁶⁷ On arrival at their capital, the king came to bring tribute of local articles to Shi-ts'ing. After this relations were broken off.⁶⁸

In the 5th year [A.D. 631] of the T'ang Emperor T'ai tsung's reign-period *Ch'eng-kuan*, they sent an envoy to Court. The Emperor commiserated the distance [they had come], and commanded the office concerned not to insist upon annual tribute. He sent the magistrate of Sin-chow⁶⁹ Kao Jen-piao⁷⁰ to go and preach a homily

⁶⁰ 都斯麻 Tsu-shima.

⁶¹ 一支 Iki.

⁶² 竹麻 Chiku-hima are the Japanese sounds; perhaps Chikuzen-Chikugo.

⁶³ 泰王國: This would seem to be part of Korea. See my account above cited.

⁶⁴ 夷洲; in ancient times said to be far east of Ningpo somewhere in connection with Wo [*i. e.* Japan].

⁶⁵ 何輩輩. ⁶⁶ 夸多毗.

⁶⁷ All these eight words are contained in the two Chinese words 郊勞.

⁶⁸ The Japanese History says, however, that, during the same year, their own envoy was sent back with Pei Shi-ts'ing, and also a number of students for the Sui Empire.

⁶⁹ 新州 in Shan Tung. ⁷⁰ 高仁表.

to them ; but as he could not settle amicably the dispute with the prince about the forms to be gone through, he declined to read out the manifesto and returned.⁷¹

Some time after this, [Japan] changed over to Shinra,⁷² and an envoy submitted a letter.⁷³

In the first year of Yung-hwei [A.D. 650], the prince Hiao-têh mounted the throne, and took the reign style of "White Pheasant."⁷⁴ He offered amber and cornelian. At this time Shinra was being overborne by Kao-li and Pêh-tsi, so the Emperor Kao Tsung bestowed an imperial-sealed letter upon him, ordering him to march out troops to the rescue of Shinra. Before long Hiao-têh died, and his son T'ien-fêng-ts'ai⁷⁵ succeeded. On his death his son T'ien-chi succeeded, and the following year his envoys along with some Ainos came to Court.⁷⁶

⁷¹ If reference will be made to my paper on *Early Japanese History*, it will be seen that the Japanese envoy left in 630. The Japanese History adds that Kao Piao-jên (as they inversely called him) did not return until 634, when he was escorted as far as Tsushima 對馬 by a party in charge of one 吉士雄麻呂 [Kichi Yūmaro].

⁷² It is true that Shinra was master of the whole Korean peninsula about now, but I do not find anywhere confirmation of the statement that Japan acknowledged Shinra's supremacy. In A.D. 650, according to the old *T'ang Shu*, the Japanese living in Hiaksai all surrendered to the Chinese.

⁷³ This is not very clear : the original runs : 火之更階新羅使者上書.

⁷⁴ This is fairly correct. The "Emperor" Kōtoku 孝德 reigned from 645 to 654, but he only adopted the style 白雉 in the 甲寅 year, which was 650.

⁷⁵ 天豐財. I suppose some such sound as *Ametoyo-tomi* : but the Japanese call him Saimiō, 齊明. It was in fact the abdicated Empress 皇極 resuscitated under a new name. It is difficult to guess whence the Chinese name comes.

⁷⁶ Mr. Herbert Allen mentions Ainos in charge of the Japanese at the Chinese Court on page 58 of the N. C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. III, in A.D. 659, but as Tenji 天智 did not begin his reign until 668 it must be 669.

The Aino men also inhabit islands in the midst of the sea. Their envoy's beard was over four feet long, with "hairpins" in his head in the shape of arrows. He made a man put a gourd on his head and stand off several hundred paces. He never missed hitting it.

On Tenji's death his son T'ien-fu⁷⁷ succeeded. On his death his son Tsung-fu succeeded. In the 1st year of Hien-hêng [A.D. 671], he sent an envoy to congratulate us on the conquest of Kao-li.⁷⁸ After this they got to know something of Chinese pronunciation, and to dislike the name of Wo,⁷⁹ which they changed to Jih-pên. As their envoy said:—Their state was near where the sun rose, whence the name.—Another account is that Jih-pên was a small state amalgamated by the Wo, who therefore plagiarised its name, but this is doubtful, as the envoy would not admit it.⁸⁰

The envoy also began to brag about the capital of his country, which he said was several thousand *li* square,

⁷⁷天父 and 須符. These names do not at all correspond with Japanese history. The next Emperor was Kōbun 弘文, son of Tenji, who only reigned one year 672. Possibly the discrepancy is explained by the following entry in the Japanese History.—"It was only in the third year of the reign of the "present Emperor Meiji [about A.D. 1870] that this monarch "was counted as an Emperor and apotheosized." He was succeeded by his uncle, the brother of Tenji, called Temmu 天武, who reigned from 673 to 686. Probably the Chinese account is correct, for the Japanese have notoriously lost credit by cooking and manipulating their histories.

⁷⁸The Japanese History says under the year 662:—"This "year Tang extinguished Kori."

⁷⁹This budding knowledge of good and evil accounts for the Japanese having, as their own history admits, now conceived the idea of "making a history" 撰帝紀. They accordingly vamped up a string of Chinese names and foisted them retrospectively on their ancient princes who were only known by tradition.

⁸⁰不以情 I suppose this is the meaning. Compare 情偽, "true and false."

going right down to the sea on the south and west, but being limited to the north-east by high mountains, beyond which were the Hairy Men.⁸¹

In the first year of Ch'ang-an [A.D. 701] their prince Wên-wu⁸² came to the throne, and called his reign Ta-pao. He sent a courtier, a Taoist priest named Lih-t'ien,⁸³ with tribute of local articles. "Courtier-Taoist"⁸⁴ means much the same as the Chinese *Shang shu*. He wore on his head a *Ts'in-têh* hat⁸⁵ with four gorgeous flowers: he had on a purple robe and a silken girdle. This Taoist was fond of study, and a good penman. His deportment was graceful, and the Empress Wu feasted him in the Lin-têh [Unicorn-Virtue] Hall,⁸⁶ and sent him back with the rank of "Lord of the Banquets."⁸⁷

On Mommu's death his son A-yung⁸⁸ succeeded. On his death his son Shêng-wu succeeded and styled his reign White Tortoise. Early in the reign K'ai-yüan [713-742]

⁸¹ Ainos, also called "Shrimp Barbarians."

⁸² Mommu 文武 reigned from 697 to 707. In his 5th year he did actually adopt the reign style of 大寶.

⁸³ The Japanese pronunciation of 栗田 would, I suppose, be Awada. The *Sung Shi* makes the same statement exactly.

⁸⁴ 朝臣真人; 尚書. Now meaning "President of a Board." In the Chinese After-Han hierarchy, the 客曹 *Shang shu* was a sort of chamberlain for dealings with foreigners 外國夷狄.

⁸⁵ 進德冠, invented by T'ang T'ai-Tsung for presentation to *illustrissimi*. The Japanese were evidently now much taken with hats, for they tell that in about A.D. 660 they "increased the hat ranks" to twenty-six 改增冠位.

⁸⁶ The Tibetan envoy was also feasted in this Hall.

⁸⁷ The Japanese *Kojiki* was reduced to writing two or three years later, and it was doubtless as a return compliment to the Empress Wu, whose reign style in 697 was 神功, that the semi-mythical Jingō-Kōgo 神功皇后 had the name retrospectively conferred upon her. Her real name was *Okinaqa-tarashi* 氣長足姬, otherwise Pi-mi-hu.

⁸⁸ Mommu was succeeded by his mother 阿碁, daughter of Tenji, who reigned as Gemmei 元明. Possibly the second form of 碁, namely 閑 written quickly, may have got confused with the chara-

Awada returned to the Chinese Court, and begged to have the classics given to him in common with other Confucianists. Chao Yüan-mêh,⁸⁹ the Assistant Teacher of the Four Gates, was commanded to approach the Banqueting Office for teachers. He [Awada] offered large rolls of cloth as presents to them, and every one presented him with various objects and books to go back with. His Assistant-Courtier⁹⁰ Chung-man Mu-hwa⁹¹ was unwilling to go, and changed his family name and personal name to Ch'ao Hêng. He filled several offices about the court, and was well known to his [Chinese] friends. In the long run he returned to Japan. On Shōmu's death, his daughter, Hiao-ming, succeeded, and adopted the reign style of T'ien-p'ing Shêng-pao.⁹² In the 12th year of T'ien-pao [A.D. 753], Ch'ao Hêng

ter 用. She was succeeded in 715 by her other son, who reigned under the style Genshō 元正. He was succeeded in 723 by Mommu's son Shêng-wu 聖武 or Shōmu. "White Tortoise" is apparently a Chinese mistake for 神龜, a reign style adopted by Shōmu in imitation of the Toba-Tartar Emperor Hiao-ming Ti, the founder of whose dynasty was also called Shêng-wu. The double imitation is only too evident. These Tobas had captured some Japanese and settled them in Tartary.

⁸⁹ 趙玄默. ⁹⁰ 副朝臣

⁹¹ This is sufficiently confirmed by the Japanese History, which says that in A.D. 716 Abe no Nakamaro 阿部仲麻呂, a 下道眞備 whatever that may be, and a bonze named 玄昉 remained in China to study, and that the former changed his name to 朝衡. The first 仲滿菰華 are evidently *Chung-ma-lü* or Nakamaro. Mu-hwa was a Botsukai name. This is also apparently Rein's *Shimotsu-michi-nomakibe*; for 仲 is also pronounced *michi*. This last man spent 19 years in China and invented the *Katakana* [according to Rein].

⁹² Shōmu had already taken the new reign style 天平 in the 6th year of his reign. It was continued with various additions throughout his reign, and also his son and successor 孝謙 [called by the Chinese "his daughter" 孝明] who only took the addition Shêng-pao in his or her 7th year. These changeful double styles were again in imitation of the then prevailing Chinese fashion.

once more came to Court, and during the period Shang-yüan [760-2] he was promoted to be a cavalry aide-de-camp and General of Annam.⁹³

Shinra was now obstructing the [northern] way to China by sea, so tribute was brought to Court by way of Ming-yüeh Chow [Ningpo] instead. On Hiao-ming's death, Ta Ch'ui⁹⁴ succeeded. On his death Shōmu's daughter An-kaoye was made prince.⁹⁵ On her death Pêh-pih succeeded.⁹⁶ In the first year of Kien-chung [A.D. 780], his envoy the Taoist Hing-nêng⁹⁷ submitted local articles. "Taoist" is used as a family name of the office he held. Hing-nêng was a good writer;⁹⁸ his paper resembled a seal [*i.e.* silk]⁹⁹ but was more glossy, but no one could read his writing.

In the last year of Chên-yüan [A.D. 804] the prince, called Hwan-wu,¹⁰⁰ sent an envoy to Court. His student

⁹³ Possibly in attendance upon this general, or possibly the words 安南 may refer to his duties in part of Japan. But see his shipwreck in Annam later on.

⁹⁴ 大炊 pronounced I suppose *Ōkashiki* was the personal name of Hiao-K'ien's successor 淳仁 in A.D. 758.

⁹⁵ 安高野姬. I suppose the Japanese would call this *Yasumi-Takanoshi*. The Japanese History says Hiao-K'ien came to the throne again in 765 under the style 積徳.

⁹⁶ 白壁 was the personal name of Shōtoku's successor 光仁 in 770. ⁹⁷ 眞能.

⁹⁸ Here is proof that the *hiragana* was in vogue then. Other extracts confirm this.

⁹⁹ 璽: evidently a misprint for 璽, for the old T'ang Shu has the other form 璽.

¹⁰⁰ Kwanmu 桓武, 782-807. The Japanese History says Abe-no Naka-maro died in China in 770, having held there the title of 秘書丞. I think the Japanese poet who so often figures in Chinese *belles lettres* under the name of 晁¹⁰¹ must be this Ch'ao-*[hêng the Mi-shu]* K'ien, especially as the Chinese poet 王維 writes an ode to the 秘書晁丞. A recent number of the *Shên Pao* said that 晁卿 returned from China to Japan in the reign 713-42 with Li Pêh's poems: 晁 is pronounced like 朝.

Küh Mien-shī¹⁰¹ and the bonze¹⁰² K'ung-hai¹⁰³ wished to remain behind to study, and over 20 years later the envoy Taoist Kao Hiai¹⁰⁴ begged that Mien-shī and the others might all return, to which the Emperor assented.

After that Noh-loh¹⁰⁵ succeeded, and after him Ts'o-ngo. The next was Fou-ho¹⁰⁶ [Chun-ho] the next Jên-ming. It was in the 4th year of K'ai-ch'êng [A.D. 839] that he again sent tribute. Next came Wên-têh [Buntoku], next Ts'ing-ho [Seiwa], next Yang-ch'êng [Yôzei], and next Kwang-hiao [Kôgô].¹⁰⁷ This was in the 1st year of Kwang-K'î [A.D. 885].¹⁰⁸

* * * * *

Amongst the islands of the eastern sea there are also the three petty princes of Sie-ku, Po-sie, and To-m.¹⁰⁹ To the north is Shinra [East Corea], to the north-west Hiaksai [West Corea]. South-west leads to Yuch Chow [Ningpo]. There are silk, floss, and remarkable jewels.¹¹⁰

In the 1st year of the Sung reign Yung-hi [A.D. 984], a Japanese priest named Tiao-jan¹¹¹ came across the sea to China with five pupils, and submitted ten specimens of

¹⁰¹ 橘 允 兼 I suppose this would be Tachibana Benzei.

¹⁰² 浮屠 *bô-tu*, the origin of the word *bonze*.

¹⁰³ 空海 (Kūkai or Kôbô Daishi), is mentioned in Junna's reign as having been ordered to welcome a relic of Buddha to the Mikado's palace.

¹⁰⁴ 高 清 眞 人

¹⁰⁵ 安 殿 succeeded his father Kwammu in 806 as Heizei 平 城; and Saga 嵯 峨 succeeded his brother Heizei in 810. Noh-loh 諾 樂 must be the first.

¹⁰⁶ 浮 屠 is a mis-print for 浮 和 [Junna 824-33]; and 仁 明 is Nimmô [834-51].

¹⁰⁷ These forms are all correct. Kôgô's reign was 885-7.

¹⁰⁸ From the remarks made at the end by Ma Twan-lin, it is evident that all the above was reported to China independently of the history of Tiao-jan, afterwards brought over.

¹⁰⁹ 邪 古, 波 邪, 多 尼. I have no idea what these can be.

¹¹⁰ This looks like a piece of odd information gathered from some special source. ¹¹¹ 喬 然

copper vessels, and also a volume each of Japanese officials, and of this year's annals.¹¹² Tiao-jan was dressed in green, and he said his family name was T'êng-Yüan,¹¹³ and that his father was a *Chên-lien*,¹¹⁴ which in his country meant an "official of the fifth rank." Tiao-jan was good at the *li* form of written character, but he was ignorant of spoken Chinese, and could only give written answers to the questions put to him touching Japanese manners. His Majesty summoned him to an audience, and was very gracious, presenting him with a purple robe. His Majesty, understanding that the kings of Japan had borne but one family name¹¹⁵ for generation after generation, and that all the Ministers' offices were hereditary in certain families, said to his Prime Minister :—"These are island barbarians, and yet "their dynasty goes back to remote antiquity,"¹¹⁶ whilst their "Ministers also inherit office in an unbroken succession. "This is simply the ancient way of doing. The T'ang "dynasty's Empire was dismembered, and the Five "Dynasties of Liang, Chow, etc., enjoyed even a more "limited dominion. It is sad to think how few of "our official families can boast of a long hereditary "line !"

There are a good many Chinese books in their country and Tiao-jan's present visit resulted in his

¹¹² 今年代紀 Perhaps this means "history."

¹¹³ 藤原. This is the Japanese Fujiwara 藤原, the noble family which "ran" the Mikados for several centuries. The Japanese call this priest *Tōnen* or *Chōnen*.

¹¹⁴ 眞連: Perhaps Mr. Chamberlain can explain this. There used to be an old title called 大連 in Japan.

¹¹⁵ How is it Mr. Chamberlain does not tell us something of the Mikado's clan names ?

¹¹⁶ As I have pointed out in my paper on *Early Japanese History*, there is no reason whatever to doubt the antiquity of the Japanese dynasty. What is certain, however, is that the whole of their retrospectively given Chinese names are fictitious and their early "history" is mere tradition.

further obtaining the Classic of Filial Piety, and also the New Construction of the Classic of Filial Piety by Prince Yüeh, No. 15, both picked out in gold, with red silk facings, and having crystal rollers. The "Filial Classic" was the one annotated by Chêng.¹¹⁷ "Prince Yüeh" was Chêng,¹¹⁸ Prince of Yüeh and son of T'ang Tai-tsung. The "New Construction" means the edition compiled by the Memorial Secretary and Civil Army officer Jên Hi-ku¹¹⁹ and his colleagues. Tiao-jan also applied for a printed copy of the Great Tibetan Sûtras, and the Emperor ordered it to be given him.

In the 2nd year of Yüan,¹²⁰ he went back to his country in the junk of a merchant belonging to Ning-hai District in T'ai-chow Fu, and a few years after this he sent the son of his younger brother to submit an address of thanks with tribute separately of Buddhist *sûtras* and local articles.¹²¹

* * * * *

Special Addendum.—Tiao-jan's written statement says that in Japan there are the Five Classics and the Buddhist *Sûtras*. Also Pêh Kû-i's collection [of Poems] in 70 chapters, all obtained from China. That their land is suited to the five cereals, but that there is not much wheat. That for trading purposes they use copper cash inscribed "Coins of K'ien-Wen."¹²² They rear water-buffaloes and drive [flocks of] goats. There are many rhinoceroses and

¹¹⁷ 鄭玄. ¹¹⁸ 貞. ¹¹⁹ 任希古.

¹²⁰ 元; there is some omission or some mistake here. It must be 985.

¹²¹ An extract from the Supplement to the History of the Five Dynasties says that in the 1st year of Twan-kung [988] Tiao-jan, king of Japan, sent his younger brother's son to offer an address of thanks in person, also sending separately tribute of conchs, a gold saddle and bridle, copper and iron lamps [? or stirrups], and red silk girths, saddle-cloths, etc.

¹²² 乾元大寶. I cannot find this reign.

elephants.¹²³ A good deal of silk is produced, and charmingly fine delicate fabrics are woven. They have both Chinese and Korean musical instruments. The seasons and climate are much as in China. The east limit of their state joins on certain islands in the sea inhabited by barbarians, who have hair both on their faces and bodies. The Yuk¹²⁴ islands to the east produce gold, and other islands in the west produce silver, which are government monopolies. The family name of the king is Wang,¹²⁵ and there have been 54¹²⁶ or 64 of them in succession up to now.¹²⁷ All offices, both civil and military, are hereditary in the families.¹²⁸ According to the records of their history,¹²⁹ their first lord was styled Ami-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.¹³⁰ After him came T'ien-ts'ai-yün-tsun,¹³¹ and after him they are all called *tsun*.¹³²

¹²³ This pious yarn cannot be true.

¹²⁴ 奥島; evidently the Oki group. See 隱岐 later on.

¹²⁵ 國王以王爲姓: This is for Mr. Chamberlain to explain.

¹²⁶ "54 or" seems to be an error.

¹²⁷ From the mythical Jimmu (B.C. 660) to Kwazan (985-6) would be 65 of them.

¹²⁸ Minamoto, Fujiwara, Tachibana, etc. [and later Tokugawa].

¹²⁹ 年代紀所記. See above.

¹³⁰ 天御中主: I give the Japanese translation, as the Chinese characters are mere rubbish, meaning nothing in Chinese.

¹³¹ 天材雲尊, Neither this nor the next nine agree with Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*.

¹³² 尊. I think this title is merely in imitation of that given to the different "successors" of Buddha. Mr. Chamberlain translates it *Kami*. No doubt the ancient Japanese may have called their past and deceased Emperors *Kami*, but the Chinese character *tsun* must have been fitted to the idea *Kami* at a comparatively late date. Mr. Chamberlain in his *Kojiki* translates it "deity." None of the ten ridiculous names which follow are given in Mr. Chamberlain's *Kojiki*, which begins with five "heavenly deities" beginning with *Ame-no*, etc. But the last of the ten, namely *Kuni-no-toko-tuchi-no-kami* follows the fifth "heavenly deity" of Mr. Chamberlain, and is the first of the seven "divine generations" of the *Kojiki*. My Japanese Student's History 日本畧史 begins history

They are as follows: [Here follow the names in the footnote].¹³³ After these follow:—[Here comes the group of six given in the next footnote].¹³⁴ After these come [Here follows the terribly long name in the third group of Chinese characters].¹³⁵ Lastly come:—[Here follow the three names in the foot note].¹³⁶

The above make 13¹³⁷ generations in all, having their capitals at Chikushi [or Tsukushi], Hyūga,¹³⁸ etc. The fourth son of Yen-lien¹³⁹ was called Jimmu Tennō¹⁴⁰ and leaving the Tsukushi palace he came to live at the Kiang-yūan Palace in Yamato.¹⁴¹ The first year of his

with *Kuni no*, etc., and gives as the second monarch *Kuni-sa-tsuchi-no-kamu*, the sixth of the ten absurd names in the margin. Thus not only is this part of the *Kojiki* pure twaddle, but it is not even consistent twaddle.

¹³³ 天八重雲尊 隱波尊 利刺魂尊 角發魂尊 而重見尊
天忍尊 萬魂尊 國狹槌尊 津角尊 國常立尊

¹³⁴ The only one of these which figures in my 天鑑尊 Students' History is the last, but the character 火 天萬尊 should be 太. The fourth name is probably connected 珠名杵尊 with the mythical pair Izanagi and Izanami 伊弉諾 伊弉大尊 and 冊 who figure jointly as the 7th reigning monarchs. 素戔嗚尊 or pair of monarchs in the Students' History. 天照火神

¹³⁵ 正哉鸕連曰天押穗耳尊. The last three characters form part of the name of the father of monarch No. 10 as given in the Students' History.

¹³⁶ 天彥尊, 炎尊, 彥瀲尊. It is difficult to be patient with a people that inflicts such wearisome nonsense upon future generations. ¹³⁷ *Sic*.

¹³⁸ 筑紫; 日向向宮; the four characters must be confused in some way. 日向 was the capital, according to the Students' History

¹³⁹ 彥瀲. These two characters form part of the name only as given in the Students' History.

¹⁴⁰ 神武天皇; the "canonical name" of *Kamu-yamato-ihare-biko*.

¹⁴¹ 大和州彥原宮. The Japanese History has 橿. I suppose Kashiwabara.

reign was the cyclic year was *Kiah-yin*, which would be in the time of Chow Hi Wang of China.¹⁴²

His successor was Sui-zei Tennō, then An-nei Tennō, then I-toku Tennō, then Kō-shō Tennō, then Kō-an Tennō, then Kō-rei Tennō, then Kō-gen Tennō, then Kai-kwa Tennō, then Sū-jin Tennō, then Kei-kō Tennō, then Sei-mu Tennō, then Chū-ai Tennō,¹⁴³ of whom the Japanese say that now he has become the great god of the fragrant hammer protector of their country.¹⁴⁴ Then came Jingō Tennō, the great-granddaughter of Kai-kwa Tennō, also called Okinaga-Tarashi Tennō.¹⁴⁵ The Japanese say that she has also become a protecting deity.¹⁴⁶ Then comes Ōjin Tennō, who now for the first time got Chinese characters from Pêh-tsi.¹⁴⁷ He is now called the Hachiman Bosatsu.¹⁴⁸ He had a Minister named Ki-wu-nei.¹⁴⁹ His [? whose] years were 307. Next comes Nintoku Tennō, next Richū¹⁵⁰ Tennō, next Hanzei Tennō, next Ingyō

142. 甲寅: The Japanese history says 辛酉, thus once again shewing the utter unreliability of the *Kojiki*. Chow Hi-Wang reigned from B.C. 681 to 676, and Jimmu is supposed in the *Kojiki* to have reigned from B.C. 660 to 585;—yet one more inaccuracy.

143. All the Chinese characters for these, as also the order of succession, correspond with the Japanese history book.

144. 鎮國香椎大神; for Mr. Chamberlain to explain.

145. 息長足姬. This is Jingō Kōgō—息, having the same meaning as 氣. Her husband at least was the great-grandson of Kai-kwa.

146. 今爲太奈良姬大神. Once more referred to Mr. Chamberlain.

147. This is confirmed by the Students' History.

148. 八幡菩薩: this is quite true. Hepburn gives 八幡.

149. 紀武内: The Japanese History speaks of 武内, and Mr. Chamberlain's *Kojiki* of the Prime Minister Take-uchi, for which 猛内 or 武内 would do very well.

150. Mr. Chamberlain believes all Japanese History up to Richū to be unworthy of credence.

Tennō, next Ankō Tennō, next Yūriaku Tennō,¹⁵¹ next Kenzō Tennō, next Ninken Tennō, next Muretsu Tennō, next Keitai Tennō, next Ankan Tennō, next Senkwa Tennō, next *Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha* Tennō,¹⁵² also called Meimei [Keimei] Tennō. In the year Jên-shên [A.D. 552] Buddhism was first preached from Pêh-tsi country.¹⁵³ This was the first year of the Ch'êng-shêng period of our Liang dynasty.¹⁵⁴ The next was Dakkai [Bidatsu]¹⁵⁵ Tennō, next Yōmei Tennō.

He had a son named Shōtoku¹⁵⁶ Taishi aged thirteen, who could explain the words of ten people speaking at once. At seven years of age he became a convert to Buddhism at the Bodai¹⁵⁷ Monastery, and expounded the *Shêng-man Sūtra*,¹⁵⁸ on which occasion it rained *Mandara*¹⁵⁹ flowers from heaven. This was during the Sui reign of K'ai-hwang [A.D. 580-601]. He sent an envoy across the sea to China to beg for the *Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra*.¹⁶⁰ The next was Sūjun Tennō, the next Suiko Tennō, who

151. Ma Twan-lin omits Seinei Tennō between Yūriaku and Kenzō: the others are correct.

152. The Chinese characters are all correctly given, up to this monarch 天國排開廣庭, *alias* 欽明 Kimmei, misprinted 銘明.

153. This is precisely confirmed by the Japanese History.

154. Perfectly correct.

155. 達海 misprinted for 敏達; all the others correct down to Yōmei.

156. 聖德太子. Neither the Student's History nor the *Kojiki* mentions this son. But the former mentions Yōmei's son Mmayado or Mmaya 麻呂 begging his father to pray, and Mr. Chamberlain mentions a son *Uhe-no-miya-no-nmua-ya-dono-to-mimi*.

157. 菩提

158. This passage is quite correctly quoted from the *Sung Shih* as 堅鬘經, but other extracts call it 勝鬘經.

159. 天雨曼陀羅華.

160. 法華經. Yōmei reigned from 586 to 587, Sūjun from 588 to 592, and Suiko from 593 to 628. Or perhaps the dates are 589-90 and 591-629. I have a query on the subject in my notes.

was the daughter of Keimei¹⁶¹ Tennō. The next was Shumei Tennō, the next Kōgyoku Tennō, the next Kōtoku Tennō, in the 4th year of whose reign-period "White Pheasant" one of the disciplinists came to explain Buddhism to China.¹⁶² He remained three years, and received the *King-yuh-lun* from the Buddhist Huen-chung.¹⁶³ This was in the fourth year of the reign period Yung-hwei [A.D. 653]. The next was *Ame-toyo-tomi-shige-nichi-turashi*¹⁶⁴ Tennō, who sent the priest Shidō¹⁶⁵ at the head of a party to China in order to beg for a copy of the Mahayāna Law for teaching purposes. This was in the third year of the period Hien-k'ing [A.D. 657]. The next was Tenji Tennō, the next Temmu Tennō,¹⁶⁶ the next Jitō Tennō, the next Mommu Tennō,¹⁶⁷ the first year of whose reign Ta-pao was the first year of the Chinese Ch'ang-an, when he sent a Taoist named Awada to China to apply for books, and the disciplinist Tao-ts'z begged for *sutras*.¹⁶⁸ The next was A-pi¹⁶⁹ [Gemmei] Tennō, the next *Fan*

161. Again misprinted,—this time 欽明.

162. 律師道照佛法至中國: I am rather doubtful of this translation.

163. 從三歲僧玄重授經律論. I cannot make head or tail of this. It looks as if the celebrated Huan Chwang 玄奘, who returned from India in A.D. 645, was alluded to in some way.

164. 天豐重白足姬. The Japanese rendering is a pure guess of mine. The first three characters have already been given once, and the second three shew that a woman is meant. Compare *Okina ja Turashi*:—It is remarkable that twice over the *Mikado Saimiō* should thus be ignored, and we may be sure that the Chinese record is correct: that is that Tiao-jan gave it as in the text.

165. I guess at the accepted sound of 智通.

166. Kōbun is again left out. See above, note 77.

167. This time Ma Twan-lin has got it right, the mysterious *mikado*, Tempu and Sōfu being omitted. See back.

168. 律師道慈求經: I find this passage in the *Sung Shī*, so that it must be given correctly. But I cannot reconcile this translation with the two translations given a few lines back.

169. See back: the character 開 is right this time.

Tennō,¹⁷⁰ the next Shōmu Tennō, in the first year of whose reign "*Previous Tortoise*," a priest named Chêng-Yüan-fang¹⁷¹ was sent to court. This was in the the fourth year of K'ai-yüan¹⁷² [A.D. 716]. The next was Kōmei Tennō, again a mistake for Kōgen, daughter of Shōmu Tennō, reign period T'ien-p'ing Shêng-pao [749], which was the middle of our reign period T'ien-pao [742-756]. She sent an envoy and a priest to China to ask for the Inner and Outer Classics and the Commandments.¹⁷³ The next was Ōkashiki (*i. e.* Jūmin) Tennō. The next was Takano¹⁷⁴ Tennō, daughter of Shōmu Tennō. The next was Shirokabe¹⁷⁵ Tennō, who sent two priests named Reizen and Kōga¹⁷⁶ to China to worship the Wu-t'ai Shan¹⁷⁷ and study Buddhism. The next was Kwam-mu Tennō, who sent Fujiwara Kudzuno¹⁷⁸ with Kūkai Daishi,¹⁷⁹ and also the bonze Chêng from the Yen-lih Monastery, to China,¹⁸⁰ in order to visit the T'ien-t'ai Shan priest

170. 取天皇 there must be some mistake.

171. The Japanese History says that in 733 the priest 玄昉 returned from China. This of course is Ma Twan lin's 元昉. See Note 91. 寶龜. Last time it was "*White Tortoise*." It should be 神, "Divine."

172. But the 1st year of Holy Tortoise was A.D. 723.

173. Hwang Ti's Inner Classics 18 chapters; Outer Classics, 37 Chapters. I do not know if the 傳戒 are the Ten Commandments of the Nestorians, or what they are.

174. See back, Yasumi-Takanoshi.

175. I guess at the sound for "white wall."

176. 靈仙行賀

177. The celebrated Mountain Monastery in Shansi to which all devout Buddhists go.

178. 藤元 (*i. e.* 藤原) 葛野. I guess at the two last sounds.

179. 空海大師 the inventor of the *Hiragana*, *alias* Kōbō Daishi.

180. The Japanese History says that in A.D. 788 the *Mikado* presented the name of 延曆寺 to an educational monastery founded by the priest Saitō 最澄, who is evidently the Chinese 僧澄.

Ch'uan-shi.¹⁸¹ This was just in the first year of Kwan-i-Yüan-ho [A.D. 806]. The next was Noh¹⁸² Tennō and the next Noh-loh Tennō, the next Saga Tennō, the next Junna Tennō.

The next was Nimmio Tennō. This was during our Chinese reigns K'ai-ch'eng [836-840] and Hwei-ch'ang [841-846]. He sent a bonze to China to worship at Wu-t'ai.¹⁸³ The next was Buntoku Tennō. This in Ta-chung [A.D. 847-860]. The next was Seiwa Tennō, the next Yōzei Tennō, the next Kōgō Tennō, who sent a bonze named Tsung-jwei¹⁸⁴ to China to preach the faith. This was in the 1st year of Kwang-k'i [A.D. 885]. The next was Nin-wa¹⁸⁵ Tennō. This was during the period Lung-têh [A.D. 921-3] of our [Posterior] Liang dynasty. He sent K'wan-kien¹⁸⁶ and other bonzes to Court. The next was Daigo Tennō. The next was Tenkei¹⁸⁷ Tennō. The next was Fêng-shang [Murakami] Tennō.¹⁸⁸ This was

181. 正觀歲元和元年也 The two characters *Kuan-i* seem misplaced, and perhaps should belong to the previous sentence 訪天台山傳智者 which is itself lacking in clearness. Possibly it should be "to visit Ch'uan-chu and Kwan-i," etc.

182. 諾 seems to be the same as 諾樂. See back.

183. A Japanese priest called 圓珍, and another (perhaps the same) called 圓載上人, are supposed to have visited China about now, but my references are uncertain. Also an envoy of the Fujiwara family.

184. 宗睿. I suppose Sōyei in Japanese. I can find no other mention of him.

185. Uda 宇多 Tennō's reign began during his father's reign period 仁和.

186. The date is wrong. Uda reigned from 888 to 897. I cannot find mention in Japanese History of K'wan-Kien 寬建. On the contrary, it says that an envoy destined for China did *not* go, on account of the civil war which was then overthrowing the T'angs.

187. Shujaku 朱雀 in the 2nd year of his reign took the style 天慶

188. 村上 misprinted for 村上 (A.D. 947-968). It will be noticed that the fickle Japanese now began to disuse the sonorous Chinese

during the [Posterior] Chow period Kwang-shun [A.D. 951-4]. The next was Reigen Tennō, who is now Abdicated Over-Tennō.¹⁸⁹ The next is Shou-p'ing Tennō, the present prince.¹⁹⁰

This makes 64 generations in all.¹⁹¹

In the metropolitan province Ki-nai,¹⁹² there are five divisions, Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Idzumi, and Settsu. There are in all 53 *kuni* ¹⁹³ in it. In the Tokaidō there are Iga, Ise, Shima, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Idzu, Kahi, Sagami,¹⁹⁴ Musashi, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimōsa, and Hitachi,¹⁹⁵ fourteen *shū* in all, having 126 *kuni*. In the Tō-san-dō there are eight *shū*, namely Ōmi, Mino, Hida,

reign styles. Perhaps the *Kwambakus* or mayors of the palace, who began under Uda, were responsible for this.

189. 太上天皇. Abdication had for many centuries been the rule rather than the exception in Japan.

190. 守平 was the personal name of the *Mikado* 圓融, 970-984.

191. It is curious that the Student's History makes no mention of the priest Tiao-jan, who, as we have seen, belonged to the Fujiwara family of *Kwambakus* 關白, or Shōguns 將軍, as they were later called, and who, as we have also seen, was supposed by one Chinese writer to have been the prince of Japan himself. At this time 藤原賴忠 or, as I suppose the Japanese would call it, Fujiwara Yoritada, was Regent. Perhaps the Japanese historians are too vain to admit that a member of the semi-royal family of Fujiwara went to China. The next Japanese *mikado* Kwazan 嵯峨 himself became a bonze; and his mother was, as usual, a Fujiwara.

192. 畿内 I presume that 河内 and 和泉 are intended for Kawachi and Idzumi. The others are correct in Chinese character namely 山城, 大和 and 攝津. The word for "divisions" is 州 *shū*.

193. 郡

194. In another Chinese extract Sagami is written 相摩, and I once supposed it was Shimōsa. See *Early Japanese History*.

195. 東海道: 伊賀, 伊勢, 志摩, 張 [how is this?], 參河, 遠江 [how?], 駿河 [how?], 伊豆, 甲斐, 相模 [how?], 武藏 [how?], 安房 [how?], 上總 [how?], 常陸 [how?]. These names can be identified from their alternative names as given by Mr. Satow, such as En-shū, Sun-shū, etc. (Jap. As. Soc. Trans., Vol. I).

Shinano, Kōdzuke, Shimotsuke, Mutsu, and Dewa,¹⁹⁶ having 122 *kuni*. In the Hoku-riku-dō there are seven *shiu*, namely Wakasa, Echizen, Koga, Noto, Etchū, Echigo, and Sado [Island],¹⁹⁷ having twenty *kuni*. In Oki the San-indō¹⁹⁸ there are eight *shiu*, namely, Tamba, Tango, Tajima, Inaba, Hōki, Idzumo, Iwami, and [group of islands],¹⁹⁹ having 52 *kuni*. The San-yō-dō has eight *shiu*, namely, Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bingo,²⁰⁰ Oki, Suwō, and Nagato,²⁰¹ containing 69 *kuni*. The Nankai-dō contains six *shiu*, namely Kii, Awaji [Island], Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, and Tosa,²⁰² having 48 *kuni*. The Saikai-dō has nine *shiu*, namely Chikuzen, Chikugo, Buzen, Bugo, Higo, Hiuga, Ōsumi, and Satsuma,²⁰³ having 93 *kuni*. There are also three groups of islands,—Iki, Tsushima, and Tanega,²⁰⁴ each with two *kuni* under it. The above are what are called the Seven Circuits, containing 3,772 villages,²⁰⁵

196 東山道：近江 [how?], 美濃, 飛驒, 信濃, 上野, 下野, 陸奥 [how?], 出羽. All these names are interesting as shewing the different degrees in which the Japanese borrowed and engrafted Chinese sounds and characters.

197. 北陸道：若狹, 越前, 加賀, 能登, 越中, 越後, 佐渡.

198. 山陰道.

199. 丹波；丹彼 [後], 祖馬, 因幡, 伯耆, 出雲 [how?] 石見, 隱岐.

In a previous note I have assumed that 奥島 is Oki. In another Chinese extract Tango is written 丹哥.

200. In another Chinese extract, quoted in my paper on early Japan, Bingo is written 蓬哥.

201. 小陽；evidently for 山陽, 播磨, 美作, 備前, 備後, 安藝, 周防, 長門.

Mr. Satow gives Bit-chiū, which is evidently 備中 and has been omitted by Ma Twan-lin.

202. 南海道：伊紀, 淡路, 河波, 讃 [讚], 普, 伊豫, 土佐.

203. 西海道：筑前, 筑後, 豐前, 豐後, 肥後, 日向, 大隅, 薩摩. Ma Twan-lin has omitted Hizen.

204. 一伎, 對馬, 多祇. Mr. Satow omits this last from his list (J. A. S. Journal Vol. I.)

205. 郷：I suppose this would be *mura*.

414 post-stations,²⁰⁶ and 883,829 taxable polls.²⁰⁷ Beyond the taxable polls. There is no exact record [of the people].

All the above is from Tiao-jan's memorandum. Now, we find that our own histories have recorded that in the Sui reign K'ai-hwang, and the T'ang reigns of Yung-lwei, Ch'ang-an, T'ien-pao, Yüan-ho, and K'ai-chêng, the fact has been recorded of envoys having come with tribute, all which accords with Tiao-jan's memorandum. During Ta-chung, Kwang-k'i, Lung-têh, and the [Posterior] Chow reign of Kwang-shun, priests were sent to China, but the T'ang Shu and the Five [Ephemeral] Dynasties' History have failed²⁰⁸ to record the facts. During the T'ang reign Hien-hêng, in the 23rd year of K'ai-yüan, the 12th year of Ta-lih, and the 1st year of Kien-chung, on the other hand they came with tribute, but it is Tiao-jan who does not record the facts.

In the 5th year of Hien-p'ing [A.D. 1002] Chow Shi-ch'ang,²⁰⁹ a trader of Kien-chow [Foochow], was blown over to Japan in a storm, and stayed there seven years before he got back, when he returned with a Japanese named Fujiki Kichi.²¹⁰ Both had audience of His Majesty. Shi-ch'ang exhibited some specimens of his Japanese friend's attempts at making repartee couplets, but the language was stereotyped, shallow, and of no merit whatever.²¹¹ The man was dismissed with some presents.

206. 驛 *eki* or *shukuba*

207. 課丁.

208. Not quite so, as shewn in notes above.

209. 周世昌.

210. 滕本吉: I suppose I am not far wrong in the Japanese sounds.

211. The *Shên Pao* recently published a leading article on the feebleness of Japanese poetry. Of course no nation destitute of tones can ever master Chinese rhythm, any more than Englishmen pronouncing ancient Greek in the ridiculous way we do can appreciate modern Greek accentuation.

In 1st year of King-têh [A.D. 1004] a Japanese priest named Tsih-chao [*i. e.* Tsih-jan]²¹² came along with seven others to Court. Shokunen did not understand spoken Chinese, but he knew the written character, and was a wonderfully clever calligraphist. Conversation with him was carried on entirely with pencil and paper.²¹³ The Emperor commanded that he receive the appellation of Yüan-t'ung²¹⁴ Ta-shi, and presented him with a purple square-cut robe.²¹⁵ In the 4th year of T'ien-shêng [A.D. 1026] it was reported at Ming-Chow [Ningpo] that T'ai-ning Fu²¹⁶ in Japan had sent a man with tribute of local articles; but as he was not provided with an address from the Japanese Government, the Emperor ordered them to be declined, and from that date they have not sent tribute to Court. Through our southern traders at times Japanese productions find their way to China. In the 5th year of Hi-ning [A.D. 1072] a priest named Ch'êng-sün²¹⁷ came to T'ai-Chow, and stopped at the Kwoh-ts'ing²¹⁸ Monastery of T'ien-t'ai,²¹⁹ and wanted to stay. The authorities reported the facts, and his majesty ordered him to be sent to the Palace [then at Nanking]. Ch'êng-sün offered a silver incense-burner, *mukorossi* berries, white glass, five scents, crystal, red sandal, amber-mounted telling-beads, and dark-coloured

212. 寂照, a misprint for 然. I suppose Shokunen would be his Japanese name.

213. In Korea, Annam, and Japan this must still be done by those who write Chinese but cannot speak those languages.

214. 圓通大師: Japanese Yendō Daishi. I have a note of his having left Japan in 1002.

215. 方袍

216. Probably one of the *Daimōs*. There are only three *Fu* in Japan—Kyōtō, Tōkyō, and Ōsaka. Where is 太宰府?

217. 義誨

218. 國清寺

219. Mr. Consul Cooper visited T'ien-t'ai in 1884-5.

staffs. The Emperor Shên Tsung quartered him, as being a man from afar and one of monastic profession, in the K'ai-pao Monastery,²²⁰ and gave each of the priests who came along with him a purple square-cut robe. From this time all those who came with tribute of local articles were priests. In the 1st year of Yüan-fêng [A.D. 1078] an interpreter priest named Chung-hwei²²¹ was sent on a mission hither. He was presented with the title of Mu-hwa Ywai-têh Ta-shi.²²² Then it was reported from Ming-chow that a letter had been received from the Japanese State Department,²²³ and that the Chung-hwei party was being sent back with the envoy Sun Chung.²²⁴ Two hundred pieces of coloured satin were brought as tribute, and also 5,000 ounces of quicksilver. The chief authority at Tai-chow suggested that, as Sun Chung was a sea-going merchant, and the presents brought as tribute were differently circumstanced from those of other countries, he might send back a letter of acknowledgment and return objects in his own name, giving them to Chung-hwei to carry with him back east. This was approved.

In the 5th year of K'ien-tao [A.D. 1169], tribute of local articles was sent *via* Ming-chow.²²⁵ In the 3rd year of Shun-hi [A.D. 1176], some Japanese were blown over by a storm to Ming-chow and were short of provisions. The Emperor ordered them to be supplied. Besides these, there were a hundred more who had begged their way along to Lin-an 'in Hangchow Fu'. The governor was ordered to supply them with the wherewithal to get to

220. 開寶寺.

221. 仲回.

222. 慈化崇德大師, i.e. the Reverendissimo who yearns for civilization and is grateful for kindness.

223. 太宰府.

224. 孫忠, apparently a Chinese.

225. 附福州貢方物. I cannot quite understand this sentence.

Ming-chow, and have them entertained there until an opportunity should occur for their returning by some junk to Japan. In the 10th year [1183], 73 men were blown over to Hwa-t'ing Siu-chow [near Shanghai]. In the 1st year of Shao-hi [1190], some more were blown up to Tai-chow.²²⁶ The Emperor ordered that their cargo should be looked after and allowed to pass free;²²⁷ that a junk should be bought, and that all their property should then be returned to them; and that they should be supplied in addition with a compassionate allowance of rice at nominal rates.²²⁸ In the 6th year of K'ing-yüan [A.D. 1200] some of them came to Ping-Kiang [in Chêh Kiang], and in the 2nd year of Kia-t'ai [1202] to Ting-hai District [Ningpo]. Imperial orders were given in both cases for them to be supplied with money and rice and sent home with the first favourable wind.

* * * * *

It thus appears that Wo men had their first communications with China in the After Han Dynasty [A.D. 25]. The histories say that from Tai-fang ²²⁹ to Wo State by water, coasting along Chao-sien country [then including modern Newchwang], then turning south, then east, across three seas, and past seven states, it was a total distance of 12,000 *li* before the capital of their country was reached.

Another statement was that from the borders of Loh-lang province [North Corea] and Tai-fang province [Central Corea] alike it was 12,000 *li*; it was east of Kwai-ki [Ningpo], and not far from Tan-êrh [Hainan]. Their land was very distant from Liao Tung, but very near to Min-chêh [Foochow and Ningpo]. But it is certain that the first arrivals in China came by way of Liao Tung;

226. Another Tai-chow. Almost opposite Chinkiang.

227. 見行貨物免抽.

228. 常平米.

229. Near Seoul.

hence this roundabout course, until the Six²³⁰ Dynasties and Sung, when most of them came with tribute by the southern route, across the sea, and also to do trade with us, for which they never came by the north, evidently holding that Liao Tung was not part of Chinese territory.²³¹ The *Notices of the Three Dynasties* says that during the period Yung-hi [984-7] the priest Tiao-jan brought tribute, went back to Japan, and afterwards submitted an address of thanks. A description of his travels hither runs :—
“I regard the setting sun, and journey west over 100,000
“*li* of inexhaustible waves. I watch for the monsoon
“and return east, gliding over thousands upon thousands
“of [watery] mountain peaks.” What a distance ! A
description of his travels home runs :—“Towards the
“end of summer I relax my cable at T'ai-chow [Chêh
“Kiang], and in the early spring I reach the outskirts
“of my metropolis.” Yet how near ! He goes on
to say :—“Then by the beginning of the next spring
“I reached my old town, where those dressed in sombre
“garments joyfully awaited me, whilst earls and
marquesses respectfully welcomed me.” So that, however
near Japan may be from east Chêh Kiang, it must have
taken him nearly half a year to get to the capital.

230. Five ?

231. For a long time it ceased to be so.

A JAPANESE CREDIT ASSOCIATION AND ITS FOUNDER.

BY GARRETT DROPPERS.

[Read 17th January, 1894.]

A year or more ago, while looking into the subject of land tenure in Japan, I met with an interesting form of credit institution existing in the agricultural districts of the country. As so often happens, the side issue proved more attractive than the main topic. I traced the institution to its founder and succeeded in bringing to light the main facts of the life of Ninomiya, a reformer who lived and died within the Tokugawa period, before the policy of seclusion had been abandoned by the Japanese Government. The laws of a country, while by no means unimportant, are after all only the conditions of activity: the capital and interesting point is what men have accomplished under these laws. I therefore followed with pleasure the career of Ninomiya, the real inspirer of the credit associations, known as the *Hotokusha*, now widespread in certain districts in Japan and promising to be of still greater importance in the future. In giving the story of the life of Ninomiya I have preserved, as far as possible, the language of his Japanese biographers.

Ninomiya Kinjiro, or since his death called Ninomiya Sontaku, was born July 23rd, 1787 (4th year of Tenmei), in the small village of Kachiwagama-mura in Ashigara-Kami-gori, Sagami, in the domain of the Daimyō of Odawara. His parents were poor and of humble station.

When he was about five years of age, a flood caused by an overflow of the Sakawa swept away much of his father's property and left the family poorer than ever. Nine years later, when the boy was only fourteen years of age, his father died, leaving the children and their mother in extreme destitution, and as Kinjiro was the eldest, the burden of supporting the family fell upon him. It is related that the youngest child was sent to an acquaintance to be brought up, but it was too young and feeble to be separated from its mother and pined away. Kinjiro reflected for a time and finally said : " Mother, the little thing cannot live without your care. Let us take it back and I think I can earn enough for all of us." The mother took back the child and from that time Kinjiro worked harder than ever in the field and on the mountain side, gathering hay and wood, which he sold in the neighboring town. He spent his evenings in twisting rope, and also managed to devote a portion of his time in learning to read and write.

After two years of great toil his mother died ; thus he and his two brothers were left with nothing but a hut, and as they were too young to live alone the two younger children were adopted by one relative while Kinjiro went to live with another. The latter, a hard and parsimonious man, noticing that Kinjiro studied every evening until midnight, reproved him for wasting oil ; thereupon the youth determined to provide his own oil. He sowed rape seed (*natane*) on the bank of a stream, and having exchanged this for oil he again went to his studies. But his guardian still found fault with him, so Kinjiro darkened his light and continued his studies secretly.

His great object at this time was the restoration of the former property of his father. He cultivated a small piece of neglected land and raised a tiny crop. This he continued to do for some years, until he finally saw that he was able to support himself. He returned to the old

hut and began to cultivate the land. Though quite alone he succeeded in slowly improving the place, and after several years of arduous toil he saw the old homestead restored. His success, while not in any sense extraordinary, was satisfactory to him and he felt that he had won the esteem of his neighbors. He married, and at that time looked for nothing farther than to live the life of a simple farmer.

About the same time the government of Ōkubo, Daimyō of Odawara, fell into financial straits. The territory was large and the revenue abundant, but the chief minister (*Karo*), Hattori Jurobei, had been extravagant and had accumulated debts to a large amount. He was pressed on all sides by his creditors, and despairing of means of escape, he was about to resign when some one mentioned to him the name of Ninomiya. He, it was suggested, might be able to restore the tottering finances of the province. Hattori was pleased with this suggestion and sent a request to Ninomiya to take charge of the revenue. The latter at first refused, but finally after repeated solicitations consented. He left his wife to take charge of the household and removed to Odawara, where he was to undertake the management of the government revenues. He then began a series of reforms for which he became famous. He cut down all the expenses, he abolished all needless luxury, and laid down the principles of the *Bundo Ho*, that is, saving from the income of one year a certain percentage to be devoted to productive purposes. He carefully audited the debts of the government, summoned the creditors and requested a temporary postponement of their claims. He labored incessantly from day to day, and after five years of great effort he saw every creditor paid and a balance of 300 ryo in the treasury. He presented this sum to Hattori, who was much pleased and wished to reward him with a share of it. But Ninomiya, instead of accepting the

money for himself distributed it among the vassals, saying that his success was due mainly to their cooperation and loyalty. Thus he left Odawara as poor as when he entered it and returned home.

His practical sagacity and disinterested activity had not escaped the notice of Ōkubo, the Daimyō of Odawara, who was a very enlightened man. He wished to recommend Ninomiya to an official post, but at this time the spirit of caste was so strong that he did not dare to advance him. But he thought that if only some difficult enterprise could be found which no one else could do, it might serve as a pretext for giving Ninomiya a higher position.

One of the relatives of the Daimyō Ōkubo was a *hatamoto*, Utsu by name, who possessed an estate in the province of Shimotsuke. One of the towns within his territory was Sakuramachi, once a flourishing place, but now sunk into poverty and lethargy. The people were slothful and wasted their substance in gambling. The fields were no longer cultivated, the taxes were unpaid, and the revenues were slowly declining. The Daimyō was troubled and asked Ninomiya to attempt the task of restoration, but he begged to be excused from such an undertaking, alleging that a mere farmer was unable to accomplish it. However after much persuasion he obeyed. In the 4th year of Bunsei (1821) he visited the town and after carefully studying the situation made a report to the Daimyō. He declared that merely to give these people money to relieve their wants was useless. He suggested that they should adopt a system of saving, be it ever so little, each year. A portion of the produce of the land should be set aside, say one fourth of the first year's crop, and made into a kind of capital fund which should be used to cultivate land the following year. Thus by degrees new land could be brought into cultivation and the wealth of the people gradually increased. Under no circumstances should the people spend more

than the amount agreed upon. Thus they would solidly increase in prosperity from year to year, their income and capital growing together.

The Damiyō Ōkubo approved of these plans, and Ninomiya, again leaving his wife in charge of his household but taking his eldest son with him, removed to Sakuramachi. He had a serious work before him, for people accustomed to idleness are not easily reformed. His first duty was to make himself thoroughly familiar with every detail, the disposition of various classes, the qualities of the soil, the waste land, etc. He lived in a very frugal manner, believing that his own example was necessary to prove his sincerity to these people. He labored in the field among the peasantry and was never behind anyone in doing a day's work.

The first results were slight. The habits of indulgence and sloth were so deeply impressed upon the people that it was almost impossible to change them. Many disliked his exacting methods, and certain inferior officials circulated slanders which were intended to reach the ears of Ōkubo, who happily, however, paid no attention to them. In spite of all drawbacks Ninomiya resolutely prosecuted his laborious work, and after three years saw his efforts crowned with success. It is related that he displayed excellent qualities of management in bringing the people up to his standard, rewarding those who did faithful work while he rebuked those who shirked.

The success of Ninomiya in restoring the fortunes of Sakuramachi did not escape the notice of the neighboring towns and villages. For instance Aokimura, a village in Hitachi, had suffered reverses until the people were extremely poor. The headman of the village and others were dispatched to Ninomiya to learn his secret of restoring prosperity. Ninomiya listened to their account and gave them practical advice. A more celebrated case, however, occurred soon afterward. Karasuyama, a town in the

province of Shimotsuke, had several years before suffered a decline. The population had decreased and the ground was badly cultivated. A certain Buddhist priest, by the name of Yeno, a very kind and sympathetic man, took pity upon the people and endeavored to infuse courage into them. The essence of religion, he thought, was to relieve the distresses of mankind, and so he did not hesitate to engage in secular affairs. He even undertook to clear the land like a farmer, though he was often ridiculed for assuming unpriestly functions. His work however bore fruit, and the people were slowly improving when the famous famine of the 7th year of Tempo (1836) occurred and reduced the people to the verge of starvation. The priest now could do nothing. At this time he heard of Ninomiya at Sakuramachi and he determined to call upon him and get his advice. Ninomiya replied that he was busy and could not speak with him. Yeno, however, was resolved not to return until he had seen Ninomiya, so he quietly waited all night at the door-step. The next morning Ninomiya, seeing the priest still waiting, was vexed and asked him to be shown into the house. The priest told his story, to which Ninomiya replied, "Every man has his own business to attend to. It is the duty of a priest to administer consolation to his people and not to mix himself in political and social matters, which are properly the duty of the Daimyō and his ministers. It is kind of you to sympathize with the distresses of the poor but a mistake to engage in secular affairs. The people of Karasuyama interfere with each other's business at every point and it should be the aim of the Daimyō and his ministers to introduce measures of relief at once. Now go, and tell them what I have said." The priest had no reply to make, so he returned and repeated these words to one of the ministers, Sugenoza. The latter was surprised to hear these bold opinions expressed and repeated them to the Daimyō. He was likewise astonished,

but he recognized their truth and he despatched Sugeno-ya with a letter to Ninomiya, bidding him to come to Karasuyama, to teach the people and introduce methods of reform. Ninomiya replied : " I am now engaged at the command of my lord, Ōkubo, and I cannot change without the consent of my lord. If the Daimyō of Karasuyama will apply to Ōkubo and get his permission, I am ready to do what I can. As however it will take time to despatch a messenger to Odawara and get an answer, I give you this sum of money to help you in the interval." With these words he presented Sugeno-ya with 200 ryo, and this amount, though small, was sufficient to prevent people from starving.

The famine of 1836 was one of the most extensive and destructive that had occurred for many years in Japan. The people in some cases were forced to eat grass and even the bark of trees. Riots broke out in various parts of the country and there was much destruction of property. The Daimyō of Odawara, hearing of the pitiable state of things in Karasuyama, requested Ninomiya to assist the people as far as possible. Sakuramachi had by this time recovered some of its former prosperity and had a considerable store of grain on hand. Ninomiya was able to gather about 2000 ryo worth of rice and millet, and having packed it into bags he had it transported on packhorses to Karasuyama. The horses, it is said, made a long train, and it is easy to imagine with what feelings the starving people saw the loaded animals approach. Huts were built for the poor, where the food was distributed. The riots ceased and the people were quieted. The Daimyō and his ministers were surprised at the efficient measures of Ninomiya and began to take an interest in his economic system. Upon their request he explained his method to them. With his assistance they put it into practice. The land was cleared, the spirit of industry revived, and in spite of much opposition the ministers succeeded in restoring Karasuyama to prosperity. From this time Yeno

and Sugenoya regarded Ninomiya as their great leader in practical economics and morality. After some years Yeno died and the enemies of Sugenoya succeeded in a plot against him. He was thrown into prison, where he died, and from this time, it is said, the fortunes of Karasuyama steadily declined.

We are apt to think that the Tokugawa period was a time of absolute government in Japan, that the people were submissive and docile and never indulged in acts of lawlessness, that it was one long interval of quiet, unruffled by any spirit of rebellion or disorder. Such a view, however, is hardly tenable. The annals of those times recount numberless riots and turbulent outbreaks. In the old régime of Japan, as under the old monarchy in France, there was a species of "irregular and intermittent" lawlessness which was particularly rife in a time of famine. At such a time riots and mobs are frequently mentioned and the police, or, at least, what then corresponded to the police, were either incapable or unwilling to quell them. The Japanese author Bakin gives some very picturesque accounts of riots that occurred in Tokyo during a period of scarcity. Most of the rioters were poor and wretched mortals whose hostility was directed against the rice merchants and speculators. Similarly, in the life of Ninomiya, we find that he was frequently summoned in time of famine because the ministers were unable to deal with the rioters. He generally adopted efficient measures, not only to feed the poor while the famine lasted but to provide for future emergencies. It was his conviction that if only people were willing consider the matter and take proper precautions, not only famines but all extreme poverty might be banished from the face of the earth, and the system that he elaborated in his later years, the Hotokusha, had among other things this object in view, to prevent the danger of all extreme misery either from poverty, or sudden accident, or calamity, such as famine.

The famine of 1836 extended through the provinces of Sagami, Suruga, and Izu; Odawara, the government seat of the Daimyō Ōkubo, suffered terribly. Ōkubo was at this time in Yedo, but hearing of the distress and rioting in Odawara he determined to send for Ninomiya and to urge him to go to the devastated districts. He despatched a messenger to Ninomiya, who was at this time in Sakuramachi, with a letter which merely stated that the Daimyō wished to speak with him. Ninomiya replied: "I am busily engaged in fighting a famine here, and if my lord only desires to consult with me he must come to me: I cannot go to him." Ōkubo hearing this reply acknowledged his mistake and explained the cause of his summons, whereupon Ninomiya immediately left Sakuramachi and proceeded to Yedo. Ōkubo was fond of him and wished to take this opportunity of honoring him and of giving him higher rank. He therefore presented Ninomiya with the *Asagumishimo*, a garment only worn by *samurai* on ceremonial occasions when they were in the presence of their lord. Ninomiya however refused the gift, saying, "To me this is a useless garment. I supposed when I was summoned that my lord wished to discuss measures of relief for the people. But I was mistaken. This gift I cannot even cut up and divide among the poor." Ōkubo then intended to give Ninomiya the rank of *samurai*, as it was not the custom in the feudal times of Japan to entrust important matters of government to anyone of low rank. But this honor Ninomiya also refused, and the Daimyō seeing him determined finally desisted. Ninomiya therefore demanded permission to open the stores of rice in and about Odawara and to use them at his discretion and also obtained 1000 ryo from his lord. He at once proceeded to Odawara, where he found the officials discussing what could be done to alleviate the distress. He explained his mission and asked for the keys to the store-houses of rice, but they refused to deliver them since they had not as yet received orders to

that effect from their lord. It is likely, too, that they did not fancy giving up keys to a man like Ninomiya, who in their opinion must be a mere upstart. Ninomiya replied, "This is no time for preaching but for practice. The people are starving. If you doubt my word let all of us go without food until you get advice from his lordship whether I have authority or not." The officials either were convinced or thought his method too drastic; at any rate they delivered the keys to him and allowed him to distribute the rice. Ninomiya was indefatigable in his efforts to help the starving people. He organized a system of relief, and it is said that over forty thousand people were assisted. His reputation spread throughout the surrounding provinces.

Ninomiya hoped as soon as the danger of famine was over to establish his economic system within the domains of the Daimyō Ōkubo. But the death of Ōkubo at this time in Yedo interrupted his plans. He regretted the loss of his Daimyō extremely, for Ōkubo had steadily favored his plans. According to the will of the Daimyō, the ministers were to carry out the system of Ninomiya, so they asked him to draw up a plan which they could consider at length. He accordingly drew up a plan and submitted it to them, but as he expected, it was rejected on the ground that it was too radical. He determined therefore to return to Sakuramachi and continue his efforts to build up the industries of that place. He had made a deep impression upon the people of Odawara, and many inhabitants of that district who wished to learn his system visited him in Sakuramachi. He explained his methods as patiently and carefully as possible, and in the course of time he had a large number of disciples. Nowhere is his memory revered more than in this district. The traveler may even to-day see monuments erected in his honor by his followers, extending in all directions from Odawara, but particularly in the Hakone region. His influence might have been even greater but for the opposition of the ministers. The

prosperity of the people increased steadily after 1836, but the jealousy of the officials was so great that in 1846 the people were forbidden to visit Ninomiya, and soon afterwards his system was abolished in this district by the Odawara government. It was not until the time of the Revolution that his followers dared to reestablish the Hotokusha in this region.

There are several other accounts of Ninomiya's reforms in various parts of Japan, but we have time to speak of but one more. This reform was made in the province of Iwaki in the domain of the Daimyō Soma. This daimyate had at one time been very prosperous, but toward the end of the 17th century the taxes were increased so as to bear very severely upon the people. As a result many fields were thrown out of cultivation, the people became poor and the public indebtedness increased. At the time when Ninomiya was in Sakuramachi, this domain of the Daimyō Soma was governed by two excellent ministers, Kusano and Ikeda. They set to work to reform the budget and stimulate industry when the famine of 1836 occurred and left large numbers of people destitute. The ministers hearing of the work of Ninomiya both in Sakuramachi and in Odawara determined to question him. Kusano, who was then over seventy years of age, visited Ninomiya and after long discussion and much persuasion finally induced him to go to Soma and study the details of the domain on the spot. Ninomiya carefully went into the history of the district, wrote a very lengthy report in which he analyzed the whole income and expenditure, made recommendations as to the treatment of the waste land, etc., and finally suggested a plan that was to be fully carried out in not less than sixty years. The ministers adopted his system, and in spite of many difficulties and obstacles, put it into practice. The result was that at the time of the opening of Japan to foreigners, the Soma domain was one of the most prosperous in Japan.

Soon after this Ninomiya was called to Yedo by the Tokugawa government and given a position under the *Dai Kwan* (the chief official of a domain directly governed by the Shogun). But the official rules did not allow him sufficient play for his work and after a time, though still nominally connected with the government, he resigned his position. He lived quietly at Yedo, devoting most of his time to teaching a few disciples who were strongly attached to him. The government put great trust in him and frequently sent him to places unpoorished either by sudden accident, as flood or famine, or by slow decay. At these times he displayed great insight and generally effected a definite reform. I have omitted many of these cases, thinking that those mentioned give a sufficiently accurate account of his work and capacity.

For the most part, however, he lived in Yedo. Here we find him in the 3rd year of Kaei (1853) when he was sixty six years old, busily engaged in making clear his doctrines to his disciples. He had hoped to devote the rest of his life to his followers, when the Tokugawa government requested his services in behalf of the district called Nikko Shinden—lands belonging to the Nikko temples. The people of this domain had become poor and shiftless, much of their land had run to waste and the Shogun's ministers were desirous that Ninomiya should personally superintend the work of restoring this domain to its former prosperity. The task was no easy one, and he was now no longer young, but he decided to undertake it. He called some of his followers and said that probably he would not live to finish his work, but he hoped that, in case of his death, they would carry it to completion. He then began a preliminary investigation of his undertaking and while thus engaged became ill. His appetite failed and he was unable to walk. His disciples urged him not to go, but as soon as his strength was somewhat restored, he determined to push on. He made final

arrangements with regard to his property, settled his family affairs, and in May, 1853, started for Nikko. After settling matters with the officials, he began the work of inspecting the different villages, whose lands he was to improve. The season was hot, the region mountainous; his friends and the officials urged him to wait until autumn, but he refused and throughout the summer he continued his work. He even refused a *kago*, thinking that by walking he could better judge the real condition of the land. In less than three months he had visited eighty-nine villages, some of which were situated in valleys, others on mountains. The work was extremely fatiguing and he never afterward fully recovered his strength. He memorialized the government and suggested a plan which the officials carried out. In the next two years over five hundred *cho* of waste land was brought into cultivation and there was a definite improvement noticeable. But he never finished his task. In the third year of his work he suddenly became extremely ill, and lingering some months he finally died on the 20th of October in the 3rd year of Ansei (1856). He was buried at the Niorai Ji, Inaichi, Shimotsuke.

Ninomiya was a self-educated and, in the best sense of the word, a self-made man. He did not belong to any school of learning, as men of his influence in Japan generally did. He was accustomed to say that he was a student of Nature. He was familiar, however, with some of the most important works of the Chinese classics. When fourteen years of age we know that he studied the *Daijaku* of Confucius, and from that time he devoted a portion of every day to reading. Even when he was extremely poor and worked early and late, he sacrificed a few moments daily to his mental culture. Still he was in no sense of the word a learned man. He had, however, an excellent natural sagacity. What he once learned he never forgot, but made it part of his intellectual endowment. He used to say "the true way of living is not so far and mysterious as we often

suppose. We do not need great learning to understand the true way, but we learn it naturally, if only we open our minds. Books, teachers, and records are not as important as observation. Men will not open their eyes and hence they walk in the dark." On another occasion he said: "I attach less importance than others to books written in past ages. The greatest and most fundamental book ever written is Nature and it is open to us at any time. Nature is always accessible to us and is impartial in her teachings. Why should we thrust aside such a storied volume for the books of men?" In one of his poems he says: "Noiselessly, patiently, Nature goes on repeating her unwritten lessons to men." He also called Nature the "first and greatest father of us all," and he constantly regarded it much as a child would regard its father.

This leaning upon Nature furnished him also with a key to his economic reforms. He said: "If we rely upon Nature we need have no fear for the recovery of our country, for she constantly heals and repairs. Yet we look to Nature, the parent of us all, not as an idle boy looks to his father, but as an industrious boy looks to his father, kind, yet severe in punishment, and eager to recognize his boy's merits. Nature will give no benefit without labour." He believed that there existed in Nature certain fixed and systematic laws, and if we work according to these laws she will surely remunerate us. And because nature rewarded so liberally the efforts of man he always felt under a sense of obligation to her. In the same way he felt under obligation to his ancestors, to the Emperor and his ancestors, and to all his countrymen—in other words the social organization of the present. He defended the principle of dividing people into ranks on the ground that the higher the social position of a man the more he ought to have a sense of responsibility to his fellow men. He once said, "My principles are especially helpful to those who are rulers."

II.

It is now necessary to consider what the precise character of Ninomiya's reforms was. What were his doctrines and what did he seek to establish? At the outset let us say that the Hotokusha, as it exists to-day, is not wholly the work of Ninomiya. He did, indeed, teach the outlines and lay down certain principles, but he had but little time for founding associations or propagating his theories among the people at large. He left these matters for the most part to his disciples, to whom he never wearied of giving advice or other assistance. He himself tells us when the first ideas of the Hotoku entered his mind. In a talk with a certain Fukuzumi, one of his earliest and most devoted followers, after giving an account of the hardships of his boyhood, he said: "I was very much astonished when I was called by my lord to restore the prosperity of his estate. He gave me liberal praise for my past conduct, though until then it had never occurred to me that I had done any thing particularly good in working to restore my father's house. But being greatly commended by my lord because I had so faithfully performed my duties as a citizen, I began to see that even an insignificant person, like myself, might contribute materially to the general welfare and prosperity of his country. From that time I saw how homely daily labor, which most people think of only as a disagreeable task, might be made to have a high meaning in it, and I determined to devote all my energies to the service of others. I felt sure that there must be some way of relieving the distress of the poor, some measure of providing for the future of people. The result was that I gradually elaborated the Hotoku system."

Before giving a detailed account of the Hotokusha I wish to describe the earlier form of Ninomiya's system, as carried out in Sakuramachi, Nakamura and other places. This is the nucleus of the Hotoku measures and was widely known as *Fukoku Ammin Ho*, or the Means of National

Wealth and Prosperity of the People. The purpose of this system was to increase the revenue of the sovereign and at the same time to establish on a firm foundation the income of the people. We must remember that the measures of Ninomiya were undertaken at a time when the whole government of Japan was a feudal system, and loyalty to the sovereign was the basis of all civic virtues. Hence the revenue of the sovereign (daimyō) was a matter of supreme importance, and any diminution in the fortunes of the people was regarded as a calamity not only for its own sake, but because it was reflected in the wealth of the ruler. The taxes were for the most part paid in kind, almost invariably in the form of rice. In some provinces they were low and absorbed not much more than one-third of a farmer's crop, but in other provinces they absorbed as much as three-fifths or even more. It is clear therefore that whatever measures were undertaken to revise prosperity, the share that was to go to the sovereign must be carefully calculated, as any uncertainty about it might mean ruin to the people. In all matters pertaining to the organic structure of society Ninomiya could not be an innovator; he accepted this as a matter of course. He reformed without revolutionizing.

The preliminary work in the *Fukoku Ammin Ho* consisted in establishing a *Bundo Ho*, freely interpreted, a method of determining a standard of living. Let us suppose Ninomiya was called upon to introduce economic reforms within a domain. He made careful estimates of the average yield (mainly of rice) that the land produced, or that the land easily could produce. To get accurate figures on this point he frequently spent a long time, often visiting every village of a given domain. He then calculated the land-tax of the district, and this formed as we have seen a considerable fraction of the whole product. The difference between these two amounts was the *Bundo Ho*, that is, the amount that was fixed for the use of the people. Out of this amount it was always provided that

a certain fund should be set aside for, what may be termed, social purposes, or purposes of mutual benefit, such as poor relief, famine relief, public works, or any form of future production. How this fund should be employed, the disposition of its various parts, was settled by the *Goson Shuho*. Literally, the meaning of this term is *measures for village and country*. Its broader meaning, however, applied to the rules for putting to work the reserve fund of the *Bundo Ho*. We know that during the Tokugawa period it was the policy of the government to establish store-houses of rice, not only to furnish people with food in time of famine but also to have reserves in time of war. Ninomiya therefore did not have to invent an entirely new system in his setting aside a share of the produce of each year, but only to adopt and extend a system already widely known. The *Goson Shuho* did not of course contemplate the storing of rice for military purposes, or even primarily for charity, though it could be used for charitable purposes if necessary. The main object was to keep a capital fund which could be used either for equalizing or extending industry from year to year, and it will readily be seen that the sacrifice of the people, though perhaps great at first, became less and less as the reserve fund grew. Under the *Fukoku Ammin Ho* the standard of living for each household was in reality limited, or at least there was a maximum of expenditure beyond which the household could not go. Each person contributed a certain share toward establishing a mutual benefit fund, from which he received no direct personal return, except in so far as better social conditions were an advantage to him. It was, however, a fixed belief of Ninomiya that such social expenditure was really of immense advantage to all.

In the Hotokusha, Ninomiya endeavored to amplify and systematize the central truths of the *Fukoku Ammin Ho*. The word itself implies his meaning, *Ho* signifying compensation, and *toku*, gifts. He wishes to emphasize

the point that each one, in proportion to his position in life, is under obligation to render services in return. What is man by himself, or by his own efforts? He is feebler than the animal, and civilized man, standing alone, is certainly weaker than the savage. We are strong because of social wealth bequeathed to us by the virtue of our ancestors, our state and our parents. Thus, each one of us is under obligation to render services in return for all that has been given to us. "What posterity will be," says Ninomiya, "depends upon what we do to-day." He had no place in his system for the wretched individualism that characterizes our nineteenth century. He had little more than contempt for the theory that a man has a right to all the wealth he can accumulate under system of free contract, and he insisted on the doctrine that much of what we possess is not owing at all to our own industry or to our own virtue, but to the social system established by our predecessors. He would doubtless have agreed with the words of the poet :

"Alas, not yet thy human task is done!
A bond at birth is forged : a debt doth lie
Immortal on mortality. It grows—
By vast rebounds it grows, unceasing growth,
Gift upon gift, alms upon alms, upreared.
From man, from God, from nature, till the soul
At that so high indulgence stands amazed."

He would, in other words, not only have denied that individual human selfishness under the guise of competition conduces to the benefit of all, but he would have ascribed the misery, the neglect, the poverty of people to this self-same selfishness. What is curious too is that he did not regard the mutual relation of people, their obligation to each other, with any religious feeling, but as a sober fact that any one would acknowledge who had a mind open to the nature of things about him. The Hotokusha was founded by a sober social

reformer, not by a man who thought he had a religious message to give to the world. In all matters pertaining to what he thought was religion he followed the custom of the country.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Hotokusha is mainly devoted to the economic interests of society. A just distribution of wealth is one of the objects aimed at, but it is after all only an element in the system. What the Hotokusha really aims at is such an arrangement of society as will at once elevate and satisfy the individual. Truth-speaking, honesty, sincerity, industry, are all enjoined. The Hotokusha is also, what I have termed a cooperative credit institution, but only in the sense that coöperation in the opinion of Ninomiya was necessary to realize a true society.

It would require too much time to show the development and changes which the Hotokusha has undergone in Japan. Even to-day the different associations have different rules, in order to adapt themselves to the peculiar circumstances of each locality. The latest and perhaps best system of rules have been adopted in Anbara-gori, Saruga (Shizuoka in Shizuoka-Ken). These rules were revised by the most enthusiastic and persevering of Ninomiya's disciples, and we may therefore suppose that they give the essential purpose of the Hotokusha better than any other body of rules.

I.—OBJECT OF THE HOTOKUSHA.

The great aim of the Hotokusha is to realize a true social life. In order to attain this object, it must give relief to those who suffer, to the poor, to orphans (Art. X, 2); it must reward members who have displayed extraordinary industry or performed meritorious actions, worthy of particular note (Art. X, 2); it must seek to improve the customs of the people and to further social morality (Art. VII, 5); it must give aid to farming villages in distress (Art. XI, 3) and cultivate waste land (Art.

X, 2); it must facilitate methods of irrigation (very important in a rice growing country) and promote the planting of forests (Art. VII, 5). It also aims in the local divisions to construct roads, dikes and aqueducts. Moreover it aims to loan capital to such members as are in need of it (Art. XI, 3), to dispatch teachers to various places to explain the principles of the Hotokusha (Art. XV). It also proposes to pay interest on special deposits (Art. XI, 2).

II.—RESOURCES OF THE HOTOKUSHA.

The resources of the *Hotokusha*, called the *Hotokukin*, are divided into two parts, viz., the property owned by the association and the active funds. The property owned by the association is known as the *Dodaikin*. It serves the purpose of giving permanence and stability to the association and at the same time identifying its interests with those of the locality. About one-half of the *Dodaikin* is called the Principal Property and consists of *Ta* (rice or wet land), *Hata* (dry cultivated land), forest land, public bonds and other securities. The other half is called the Reserve Money (*Jobikin*) and consists of money deposited in banks or secure companies. As indicated by its name, it serves the purpose of supplementing the other funds (loans, remuneration, etc.) in time of necessity. The active funds (*Shiyokin*) consist of the loanable capital¹ (the regular² and special deposits), the funds for the special remuneration⁴ of members, and gifts.

III.—METHODS OF OBTAINING, EMPLOYING AND COLLECTING THE HOTOKU FUNDS.

The funds of the Hotokusha are obtained from five sources; viz., the Dodaikin, Contributions, General Deposits, Special Deposits and Thank Offerings.

¹ Kashitsukekin. ² Kanyukin. ³ Betto-Kanyukin. ⁴ Shoyokin.

(a) The Dodaikin is derived in various ways, as for instance grants from the government, advances from the central association or other associations, or the contributions of members. As already stated, the Dodaikin is composed of the property owned by the association and the reserve. It is employed for supplementing the loan funds and for special remunerations.

(b) The Contributions are payments made by members or non-members, together with the profits of the Dodaikin. They are (Art. X, 2) used for the following purposes :

1.—Special remuneration to members for any excellence, as determined by the reports of the branch associations.

2.—Relief to members who have suffered from any unusual calamity.

3.—To assist branch associations in need of funds.

4.—To provide expenses for the recovery of waste land.

5.—To provide for the ordinary expenses of the association.

(c) General deposits are derived from voluntary payments by members. All members are expected to save something, if possible, above the ordinary expenses of living, and such savings may be put with the General Deposits of the association. On quitting the association members can draw out the principal.

(d) Special Deposits are deposits made either by members or non-members, for a fixed period (generally 6 years), and drawing interest at the rate of 5 %. Together with the general deposits they may be employed as loans for the following purposes :

1.—When a branch association desires a loan, either for its own purposes, or for one of its members, or for the building of roads, for the repair of dykes or aqueducts or for the assistance of a village in distress.

2.—When a member desires capital for a definite purpose, or,

3.—For the relief of people in time of famine, or of bad crops.

(c) Thank-offerings are payments made by members who have received a loan from the association. When his loan has been repaid in annual installments, each member is expected to pay an additional sum equal to one year's installment. This additional sum is called a Thank-offering and is carried to the Dodaikin of each year.

What loans shall be made out of the Deposits must be settled at the meetings of the association, and in all important cases the President, the Vice-president, Chairman and Members of the Board of Management must be consulted. In making loans to individuals the paper must receive the endorsement of two individuals, generally members, as guarantees, and if necessary, security may be required. Loans are repayable in installments; say in 5, 7 or 10 years. Loans made out of the Special Deposits must be repaid within 5 years. Loans made out of the Hotokukin draw no interest, but the thank offering paid at the maturity of a loan is equivalent to a high rate of interest.

IV.—OFFICERS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE HOTOKUSHA.

The organization of the Hotokusha is provided for as follows: Meetings of members (*Kaigi*), President (*Shacho*), Vice-president (*Fukushacho*), Teachers (*Kyoshi*), Chairman of the Board of Management (*Kanjicho*), Board of Management (*Kanji*), Inspectors (*Junkai-in*).

(a) There are two kinds of meetings, general and regular. The general meeting is held twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn, and all the members are expected to be present. The regular meetings are held once a month and all the officials are expected to be present. Temporary meetings may be called when matters to be decided quickly come to hand. At the meetings officers are to be elected, and all matters

pertaining to the repayment of installments are to be considered, as well matters pertaining to loans. As far as possible at the general meetings the followings subjects are to be discussed :

- 1.—The principles of Hotoku.
- 2.—Improvements in cultivation.
- 3.—The development of industries and the increase of production.
- 4.—Advancement of commercial morality.
- 5.—The practice of frugality and the relief of people in distress.
- 6.—The reclaiming of waste land and improvements in irrigation and forestry.
- 7.—Measures for advancing social customs and morality.

(b) The President oversees the business of the association, and presides at the meetings. The Vice-president assists him and in necessary cases takes his place.

(c) It is the duty of the Teachers to explain the Hotoku principles to all who are interested, and to animate and encourage the members. There are generally two.

(d) The Board of Management keeps the accounts of the Association, is responsible for the cash and transacts the details of the business. It keeps three kinds of cash-books, one for the Dodaikin, another for the Contributions, and another for the Deposits. It also at stated periods makes out a report of the present condition of the Association, and sends a copy to the Central Association. The Chairman of the Board of Management is the head of that body and acts as a medium between it and the President or Association.

(e) Inspectors visit the various branch associations in the smaller villages and observe the condition of things. They make reports to the President, through the Board of Management, suggesting criticisms or bestowing praise as the case may be.

All the above mentioned officers receive no salary, but are supposed to perform their duties from a sense of honor.

The President, Vice-president, Chairman and members of the Board of Management and Teachers are elected at the general meetings of the Association, for a term of two years. Inspectors are appointed by the President and Vice-president.

V.

An association is generally established for a term of 60 years. If, however, from any cause it is dissolved before the expiration of this period, its business is to be entrusted to the Central Association, or the Principal Hotokusha of the next province. The General and Special Deposits shall be paid in full to members; but the Contributions, the profit of the Dodaikin and Thank Offerings shall not be divided, but deposited with the Central Association or the Principal Association of the next province. In case the Association is revived the money shall be returned. All these rules are in operation in the principal associations, and the branch associations do not essentially differ from them in any point, except in the extent of business. It is also a rule that any number of men more than seven may establish an association.

VI.—PRINCIPAL (BUNSHA) CENTRAL (HONSHA) AND BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

The relation of the branch associations to the principal association is indicated partly by the very terms. The branches receive money assistance from the principal association, and the principal association in turn controls and supervises the affairs of its branches, and accordingly has authority to dispatch inspectors to them. The officers of the branch association are expected to be present at the meetings of the principal association. The principal association also assumes in all cases the work of dispatching

teachers, and in case of the dissolution of branch associations supervises the accounts, and takes charge of the Dodaikin.

The central associations often do not differ much from the principal. Sometimes there are several principal associations united under a single branch association, and in that case the latter may contribute funds to assist the former. Sometimes, however, the central association has its own branches and there appears to be no distinction between central and principal. Generally the latter send reports of their condition to the former. According to the original intention of the founders the central association was to have been a bond of union between a number of principal associations, but in too many cases this intention was not fully realized.

VII.—MEMBERS.

Any adult is admitted to membership who does not fall under the following heads:

1.—Anyone who is irreligious, *i.e.* despises the gods or providence (*kami*), or who shows want of respect to the Government.

2.—Anyone who is a bankrupt because of his idleness or extravagance.

3.—Anyone who pretending to work for the good of others is actuated by self-interest.

Members are expected to practise frugality. Whatever can be saved above their usual means of livelihood is to be devoted to the Association, either in the form of contributions or deposits.

Above all each member must show by his conduct that he is thankful for the gifts of the gods (*kami*), of his sovereign and of his ancestors. He should be industrious and economical and maintain the standard of his house. Above this standard he should contribute as much as possible to social purposes.

All members have the right of casting a vote at the meeting of the association. They also have the right of borrowing, according to the conditions prescribed. But in all cases such loans must be proved to be used for productive purposes.

Members may quit the association at any time. They must, however, repay all loans made to them before they can withdraw. They can take with them all their deposits without interest, except the special deposits which draw interest.

Several points are to be noticed that distinguish the Hotokusha from most credit associations. In the first place, the officers receive no salary for their work. This is but natural, as Ninomiya wished to emphasize the importance of performing social labor gratis. This is a point of resemblance between the Hotokusha and the Raiffeisen Loan Associations of Germany, though the latter make a point of paying clerks. Gratuitous services of this description have been of great use to society in all times, and there can be no doubt that the future may see a revival in this direction. A second point in the Hotokusha is that it neither demands nor pays interest, nor does it expect anything more in most cases than personal security for its loans. The Thank Offering, amounting to a year's installment of the loan, is indeed equivalent to a considerable rate of interest. Still it is not interest and the difference is insignificant. Ninomiya wished as far as possible to keep the idea of profit or dividend out of the Hotokusha. Likewise to demand security in every case would defeat the ends of the association. It frequently happens that the most deserving people are the poorest, and the people most worthy of a loan are least able to give security. In both these respects the Hotokusha bears a certain resemblance to the Raiffeisen Loan Associations, though the latter always demands the payment of interest. In many points it is clear that the Hotokusha

was adapted not to modern but to feudal times, when Japan was closed to foreigners. The storage of rice and other grains is an example in point, though it is by no means certain that the system of storing grain may not be revived at some future date. However, the necessity for the system is certainly not so great in these times, when foreign trade is so extended.

Lastly, as to the extent and influence of the Hotokusha. In the Appendix will be found statistics as to number and wealth of the associations, and from these figures an idea of the influence of the Hotokusha may be formed. The present, however, is hardly a time for a rapid advance of such an institution. Our century is a time of individual enterprise, of self-interest and the desire for wealth. It is hardly likely that an institution based on precisely opposite motives could have an extraordinary success. What the history of the Hotokusha might have been had Japan remained closed to foreign influences must be left to the imagination. We must not forget, however, that the good accomplished by an institution like the Hotokusha cannot be measured merely by the amount of its pecuniary transaction. A small gift to a starving person is of immense value, and a trifling assistance of money to one who has suffered from a flood may be the means of restoring him to prosperity. Above all there can be no doubt that this association serves the great purpose of uniting the interests of people, of drawing the social bonds closer, and of establishing, in some slight degree, a brotherhood of man.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF WORKS ON NINOMIYA AND HOTOKUSHA.

- 1.—*Hotoku Kan* (The Hotoku idea) ; by Ninomiya.
- 2.—*Ninomiya-O no Iiyakuden* (Short Life of Ninomiya) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 3.—*Ninomiya-O no Yawa* (Night Talks by Ninomiya) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 4.—*Fukoku Shokai* (True Way to Wealth) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 5.—*Hotoku Tsbiki Gusa* (Guide to the Hotoku) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 6.—*Hotoku Naihi* (Inner Interpretation of the Hotoku) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 7.—*Hotoku Gwaiki* (Outer Interpretations of the Hotoku) ; by Saito Takayuki.
- 8.—*Zen Ahu Oho Kan* ; by Fukuzumi.
- 9.—*Hotoku Gaku Yuku Yu* ; by Fukuzumi.
- 10.—*Hotoku Ki* (Story of the Hotoku) ; by Tomita Kokei.
- 11.—*Hotoku Fukoku Ron* (Essay on the Means of Wealth) ; by Okada Rioichiro.
- 12.—*Hotoku Gaku Seika Dan* (An Account of Domestic Economy According to the Hotoku) ; by Okada Rioichiro.
- 13.—*Kwappo Keizai Dan* (Essay on Practical Economics) ; by Okada Rioichiro.
- 14.—*Musoku Ken O Ichidai Ki* (Story of My Father) ; by Okada Rioichiro.
- 15.—*Hotokai Kessha Mon Do* (How to Organize the Hotokusha) ; by Fukuzumi.
- 16.—*Keiyen Teikun Shu* (Household Instruction) ; by Fukuzumi.

17.—*Hotoku Kessha Kisoku* (Regulations of the Hotokusha) ; by the Hotokusha.

18.—*Hotoku Dodaimeai Kiyaku* (Rules for Rice Storage) ; by Nakagami Kisaburo.

19.—*Shingō Kumiai Ho* (Credit Associations) ; by Nakagami Kisaburo.

20.—*Hotoku Kunka* (Songs of the Hotoku) ; by Ando Saishiro.

21.—*Hotoku Kessha Ho* (How to Organize Credit Associations) ; by Ando Saishiro.

22.—*Ninomiya O Doka Kai* (Commentary on Ninomiya's Poems) ; by Fukuzumi.

23.—*Hotoku Kun Shakugi* (Commentary on Ninomiya's Precepts) ; by Fukuzumi.

24.—*Honkio Riyakuzu Setsu* (Diagrams of Hotoku Principles) ; by Fukuzumi.

25.—*Hotoku Michi Shirube* (Guide to the Hotoku).

26.—*Shingō Kumiai Ron* (Credit Associations) ; by Hirata Tosuke.

27.—*Dai Nippon Ietoku Hotoku* (A Monthly Magazine of the Hotoku), published since the 25th year of Meiji, 1892.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF CENTRAL, PRINCIPAL, AND BRANCH
ASSOCIATIONS AS REPORTED BY THE HEAD
OFFICE IN SHIZUOKA IN 1890.

SURUGA NISHI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF
WESTERN SURUGA).

Membership	1,221
Dodai Kin	650 yen.
Money for social utility .. .	900 "
Contributions	11,220 "
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Total	12,770 yen.
Branches	25
Membership	698
Dodai Kin	60 yen.
Money for social utility .. .	449 "
Contributions	8,310 "
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Total	8,819 yen.
Rice Stores	82 koku.

SURUGA HIGASHI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF
EASTERN SURUGA).

Membership	800
Dodai Kin	1,897 yen.
Money for social utility .. .	1,200 "
Contributions	354 "
<hr/>	
Total	3,451 yen.

Dry land owned by the Association	... ..	2 cho 2 tan.
Branches	... ..	26
Membership	... ..	860
Money for social utility	... ..	4,450 yen.
Dodai Kin	... ..	5,860 "
Contributions	... ..	15,304 "
Total	... ..	25,611 yen.
Rice Stores	... ..	117 koku.
Millet Stores	... ..	58 "
Cultivated dry land and forest	... ..	4 cho 8 tan.

SHIZUOKA HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF THE CITY OF
SHIZUOKA).

Membership	... ..	109
Dodai Kin	... ..	31 yen.
Money for social utility	... ..	123 "
Contributions	... ..	944 "
Total	... ..	1,098 "
Rice stores	... ..	30 koku.

SHUNTO-GORI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF THE DISTRICT OF
SHUNTO).

Membership	... ..	2
Dodai Kin	... ..	24 yen.
Money for social utility	... ..	3 "
Contributions	... ..	855 "
Total	... ..	882 yen.

TOTOMI HOTOKU YENJOSHA (CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF
TOTOMI).

Principal Associations	... ..	6
Branch Associations	... ..	92
Central Association, Dodai Kin	... ..	3,304 yen.
Principal Association, Dodai Kin	... ..	2,414 "
Branch Association, Dodai Kin	... ..	67,497 "

TOTOMI HOTOKUSHA.

Members	...	...	...	...	...	...	214
Dodai Kin	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,988 yen.
Money for social utility	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,996 "
Contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,968 "
Deposits	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,274 "
							<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	24,170 yen.
Branches	...	...	...	...	...	...	166
Dodai Kin	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,178 yen.
Money for social utility	...	...	...	...	...	...	19,138 "
Thank Offerings	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,187 "
Deposits	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,162 "
Contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	28,057 "
							<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	62,722 yen.
Rice stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	744 koku.
Millet stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	47 "
Barley stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	15 "

OSUMI-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number..	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Membership	...	...	...	...	...	...	156
Dodai Kin	...	...	...	...	...	...	217 yen.
Money for social utility	...	...	...	...	...	...	317 "
Contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,661 "
							<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,195 yen.
Rice land	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 tan.

ASHIGARA-KAMI-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Membership	...	...	...	...	...	...	305
Money for social utility	...	...	...	...	...	...	61 yen.
Contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,723 "
							<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,784 yen.

ASHIGARA-SHIMOGORIHOTOKU'SHA.

Number	10
Membership	355
Dodai Kin	5,719 yen.
Thank Offerings	902 "
Contributions	5,194 "
Other amounts	779 "
Total	12,594 yen.
Rice stores	3 koku.

ODAWARA HOTOKUSHA.

Number	3
Membership	98
Dodai Kin	5,671 yen.
Money for social utility... ..	190 "
Total	5,861 yen.

HIGASHI YASHIRO-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number	2
Membership	60
Dodai Kin	2,229 yen.
Money for social utility	25 "
Total	2,254 yen.

TAKATA-GORI HOTOKUSHA (IZU).

Membership	32
Money for social utility... ..	250 yen.
Contributions	750 "
Total	1,000 yen.

SHIDARA-GORI HOTOKUSHA (MIKAWA).

Number	16
Membership	275
Hotoku Kin	1,391 yen.

HIGASHI-KAMO-GORI HOTOKUSHA (MIKAWA).

Number	4
Membership	129
Hotoku Kin	162 yen.

ISE HOTOKUSHA.

Number	9
Membership	253
Hotoku Kin	927 yen.
Rice and dry land	1 cho 3 tan.
Houses	7

IWASHIRO HOTOKUSHA.

Number	7
Membership	518
Hotoku Kin	629 yen.
Rice	20 koku.

Another account states the total result in 1890 as follows :

Number of Central Associations	4
Number of Principal Associations	6
Number of Branch Associations	608
Membership of Central Associations ...	4,902
Membership of Principal Associations ...	2,667
Membership of Branch Associations ...	11,411
Total sum of the Dodai Kin	110,692 yen.
Total sum of money for public utility	32,767 "
Contributions	84,205 "
Thank Offerings	14,082 "
Hotoku Kin	15,195 "
Rice stores	246 koku.
Other grain stores... ..	156 "
Land	8 cho 7 tan.

These figures are only approximately correct. In no case are they above the correct figure, and the total as given is probably considerably below the real amounts. It is difficult to get accurate accounts from certain districts. The authorities report that they find it quite impossible to get answers from all the associations.

NOTE ON NINOMIYA SANTOKU.

By JOSEPH H. LONGFORD, Esq.

Read 17th January 1894.

When reading, during the course of last summer, the details of the notorious Soma scandal, and especially those contained in the anonymous confession purporting to be made by one of the participators in the frauds that had been committed on the Soma family, I was much struck by the great wealth that that family must have possessed to have admitted of even the suggestion of such gigantic frauds, as were alleged to have been perpetrated without discovery, being made with any hope of obtaining the public credence. The family is to-day well known to be one of the most prosperous among the territorial daimios, not of the very front rank, who are now in the peerage: the family mansion occupies a large space in the best quarter of Tokyo, directly facing the Houses of Parliament, a site too valuable to be retained as merely the residence of a private gentleman if he was in the least degree suffering under any pecuniary embarrassment. And yet the so-called confession detailed, it will be remembered, in a very precise manner, thefts and frauds to the extent of over two million silver yen which were said to have been committed on the head of the family by dishonest stewards without, not to say discovery, but even suspicion, during the short

period of ten years. Was it probable or even possible, I asked a Japanese scholar, that any Japanese family, outside the limited circle of the few well known great plutocrats of the Empire, and not engaged in trade, at the present day, possessed even an approach to this wealth? "Oh yes," I was told; "most certainly the Soma family not only might but probably did possess it, for they had, at one time, in their service the great physiocratic economist, Ninomiya Santoku, and they profited by his teaching during his life time, developing their estates to the utmost and bringing their administration to a high degree of economic perfection, and also by, both before and since the Revolution, abstaining from every extravagant or ostentatious expenditure, and they therefore no doubt possessed very large accumulations." I had never before heard of the existence of Ninomiya, but very little inquiry soon showed me that, long before Japan was opened to foreigners, long before even the elements of foreign science or philosophy could have been known here, she possessed a practical economist and philosopher, self-educated and risen from the very humblest rank, whose work and teaching were not unworthy to be compared with those of Turgot, who is the acknowledged parent of flourishing cooperative societies now doing great good in many important agricultural districts in Japan, whose work is the subject of a fairly extensive literature, and whose name is still venerated wherever that work is known. His life was from early youth down to its close at a good old age one of ceaseless activity, characterized not only by the most untiring industry but by honesty, intelligence and austere self-denial, and merit alone raised him from a poverty-stricken peasant to be confidential adviser, not only of the chief of his own clan, but even of the Shogun, in an age when the feudalism that in its strictest form prevailed throughout the whole empire seemed to place an insuperable bar in the way of

the advancement of any one, no matter how deserving, from the class in which he was born.

Societies founded by Ninomiya exist at the present time, principally in the provinces adjacent to Tōkyō; Sagami, Suruga, Idzu, and Totomi. Their professed object is to advance the well-being of the farming class especially, by inculcating frugality and industry, and by helping its members with loans to be used solely in productive work. The principal doctrine is that merit should be rewarded with merit, that it should be every one's earnest effort to repay what he has gained by the merit of others with correspondingly adequate service on his own part. What we have gained most from are nature, the Emperor, and our ancestors. The latter we repay by keeping up the family line. To the Emperor, we render loyalty and pay taxes; but what can we do to reward nature for all she has done for us? Nothing better than to develop what she has given by more extensive and improved cultivation, by opening up land hitherto unused, and improving the cultivation and production of that which is already in use, and by so doing promote the general welfare of humanity at large. This can only be done with the aid of capital, and though each individual farmer may, by the practice of great industry and intense frugality, succeed in saving a little capital, his own individual efforts in that direction must always be limited, and it is besides not to the advantage of the community at large that the standard of living should be lowered to a scale which would be no more than sufficient to support life. But in each community there must be some who, by moderate frugality, are able to save some small amount each year. The societies take charge of these sums as deposits, and from them loans are made, not on material or substantial, but on personal security, to members whose characters and industry are well known to all the other members of the society and can be thoroughly relied on. The borrowers

are not burdened by the payment of immediate, though in the end they pay what is rather a heavy, interest, and are able to devote themselves to the prosecution of the productive work for which the loan has been made, unhampered by continuous payments without diminution of the whole debt. No one is admitted into the societies whose character is not thoroughly tested. No loans are made to avoid the consequences of idleness or extravagance, though the claims of misfortune are recognised. Spend-thrifts, irreligious or disloyal persons, or those whose sole object is clearly only their own welfare, are excluded from membership. All must be actuated to some extent by the idea of promoting, in no matter how small a way, the welfare of his fellow members, and through them that of humanity at large. These societies are still, as compared, with the entire Empire and population, insignificant, but they are, at the same time, fairly numerous and widely distributed, and apart from their moral effects there can be little doubt that their further development would be of immense benefit to the agricultural classes at large, not only owing to the high degree of morality in all aspects that is demanded from their members, but in saving the struggling and deserving farmer from the clutches of pitiless usurers by granting loans in case of need on mere personal security repayable by easy instalments. Farmers in Japan have been and to a great extent still are as great sufferers at the hands of usurers as were their compeers in Germany and Ireland in past days. There are few countries in which they are so exposed to the risk of the sudden destruction of all their crop and farming stock—buildings, cattle and implements—by earthquake, storms, floods or fire as they are in Japan, and to relieve the consequences of such unavoidable misfortunes, the local usurer is their sole resource. Occasionally, where the destruction is widespread and sufficiently extensive to attract outside attention, the Government comes to their

assistance ; but where, as is the case in the far greater number of instances, only one or a few closely neighbouring families are the sufferers, loss must be borne in silence and repaired by individual effort. Japan possesses now a very excellent system of national and private banks, which have undoubtedly rendered immense service both to trade and to the encouragement of thrift and saving, but the advantages of these banks have as yet almost entirely failed to reach the classes of peasant proprietors and small tradesmen in the country districts. During the year that has just passed, all the banks, both in Tōkyō and Osaka, were suffering from an absolute glut of capital at their disposal for investment, so much so that considerable reductions were made in the rate of interest allowed on fixed deposits. Government bonds bearing only 5 per cent interest were at the same time above par, and yet it is well known that borrowers among the agricultural classes were obliged to pay from 10 to 20 per cent interest on loans raised on the security of their land. In districts where societies, founded on the principles advocated by Ninomiya, have been established, they have to the extent of their limited means supplied the want of banks, but in the greater part of the empire the small farmer is still only too often the helpless victim of the grinding tyranny of the usurer, a bondage far worse and more hopeless than any to which he had to submit in the most oppressive periods of feudalism. It is difficult perhaps for us, with our ideas of the Japanese character in commercial matters, to believe that societies which make loans merely on personal security can continue to flourish in the long run, but precisely similar societies have done so in Germany, and it is to be remembered that these loans are made only to persons whose characters are well known and to members of a class who above all others are averse to change of occupation or residence. They have hitherto flourished under these conditions in Japan, and there can

be little doubt that their further extension would be of immense benefit not only to the farming classes throughout the empire, but to the people in general by the lesson which they would afford of the advantages of thrift, honesty, and self-reliance.

ON A POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE WATERWHEEL.

BY JAMES TROUP.

[Read April 11th, 1894.]

In almost every part of the country districts of Japan there may be seen a primitive-looking contrivance, called *battari*, used for the hulling of rice. It may be shortly described as a water-lever, with a stamper at one end. A representation of it is given in Fig. 3, attached to this paper. The name *battari* probably is the same word as that used to express the sound of the slamming of a door, the falling of a lid, or the like, and contains the same root as the onomatopoeic adverb *bata-bata*, used to describe the sound of a thing rapidly falling. The stamper, as is seen in the sketch, works in a mortar, containing the rice being hulled. The other end of the lever,—which is usually little more than a roughly-shaped log,—is hollowed out, (Fig. 3-A), somewhat in the form of a box; but, in place of there being an upright side to the box at the extremity of the lever, the hollow of the box slopes up gradually, from the bottom, to the level of the upper edge. A small stream of water is led so as to fall into the box, which, while the lever is in a horizontal position, and the stamper resting in the mortar, receives the water. The weight of the water brings down the end of the lever having the box, and consequently raises the other end having the stamper. No sooner is the box down than the water escapes from the sloping end of the box. This end of the lever, being thus again lightened, rises, and the stamper at the other end comes down into the mortar with force sufficient to perform its work in hulling the

rice. As represented in Fig. 3-B, there may sometimes be seen a regularly constructed box at the end of the lever, in place of the hollow in the log.

A number of years ago, in the province of Settsu, near the road leading from the village of Arima to the town of Sanda, the writer remarked a curious modification of the above contrivance. In place of the box at one end of the lever and the stamper at the other, there was, in this case, a box at each end of the lever; and, when the box at one end was filled with water and descended, the lever, in place of returning to its former horizontal position, went round so as to bring the other box under the stream of water. The lever thus received a rotatory motion on its prop, or axis; and the stamper was worked by a prolongation of the axis of the lever, in which pegs were inserted to raise the stamper, in the manner shown in Fig. 4,—and as may be seen in the ordinary rice-mills in the country.

It is said that this contrivance, unmodified, may be seen at work, at the present day, in the province of Jōshū; but I have not seen it there.

The above suggested the idea:—Might not this contrivance have, in process of time, led to the development of a waterwheel? Some years afterwards, the writer had an opportunity of presenting such a notion to the eminent anthropologist, Tylor, who enquired:—Was there ever to be seen, in this country, (what would constitute the next stage in such a development,) a similar contrivance with a second lever attached at right angles to one as now described? This led the writer to take the opportunity, when in the mountainous districts of the country especially, to note whether such a thing was to be seen. In the course of excursions in different localities, the original *battai* was frequently noticed,—but, for years, no such modification of it, such as that now suggested, was met with. In the autumn of last year,

however, in the province of Jōshū, as the tourist descends from the Konsei Pass into the valley of the Tone-gawa, —there, sure enough, was to be seen a modification of the *battari* such as was looked for. The lever with the box at each end had had added to it another lever, at right angles, and the additional lever had also a box at each end, attached to it; but these were not full-sized boxes,—they were merely light shallow structures,—little more than flat boards with raised rims round the edges, and the additional lever itself was not a substantial beam like the main lever, but a much lighter piece of wood. The additional light lever, in fact, served no other purpose than to assist the main lever in getting round so as to place its boxes under the stream of water. The arrangement is represented in Fig 6.

But, further, the day following, and still in Jōshū, what might be termed the intermediate form of this machine was met with. The additional light lever, in this instance, was not furnished with boxes. It had merely a flat board attached to each end, on which, as the machine turned round, the water fell,—thus assisting the rotatory motion. Fig. 5.

And, later on, what might be termed the further development of the machine was met with. In this case, the second lever had assumed the same proportions as the first, and was duly furnished with a full sized box at each end, like the first lever. There were now also two stampers, one to correspond with each lever,—or, more properly, pair of levers. (Fig. 7.) And, as if to make the thing complete, the same afternoon were to be seen similar machines, with three, and with four pairs of levers, —and with six and eight boxes attached. (Fig. 8.)

To convert the last-named into what we understand by a waterwheel, there only remained to add bars between the arms of the levers, to strengthen the construction, and support the boxes, or buckets, as we call them. It was

somewhat singular to note, however, that, even in the case of the wheel with eight buckets, no such supporting bars were added; although, in the same district, there were to be seen in operation both over-shot and under-shot waterwheels of various sizes, and of improved forms of construction. The presence of the primitive *battari*, in its several stages of development, along with those wheels, all at work in the same river valley, suggests the reflexion:—Does the mind of man, then, in the development of his inventions, act as nature does in the evolution of forms of organic life? “All forms,” the naturalist says, “do not necessarily advance, . . . there can now be simple organisms still existing.”

As is well known, we may still see, in this country, a lever worked, as in Fig. 2, by human labor, in the hulling of rice. This may, perhaps, be taken as the form of the *battari* before water-power was called into requisition to assist human labor in this species of work; and the more primitive mallet and mortar, as represented in Fig. 1, as prior to that again. The order, therefore, of the figures, as given in the annexed sketches, Nos. 1 to 8, is suggested as that of the stages in this development.

The waterwheel is usually looked upon as having had its origin in connexion with the work of the irrigation of the fields. On the shadoof of the Nile valley, “for irrigation,” says Tylor,* “it was mechanically an improvement . . . to set a gang of slaves to turn a great wheel with buckets or earthen jars at its circumference, which rose full from the water below, and as they turned over emptied themselves into a trough at a higher level. But when such a wheel was built to dip in a running stream, then the current itself would turn the wheel, and thus would come into existence the *noria* or irrigating waterwheel often

* Anthropology, Chap. viii

mentioned in ancient literature, and to be seen still at work both in the East and in Europe. By these or some similar steps of invention the waterwheel was made a source of power for doing other work, such as grinding corn, instead of the women at the quern or the slaves at the treadmill, or the mill-horse in his everlasting round. As the Greek epigram says: 'Cease your work, ye maids who labored at the mill, sleep and let the birds sing to the returning dawn, for Demeter has bidden the water-nymphs to do your task; obedient to her call, they throw themselves on the wheel and turn the axle and the heavy mill.' "

This wheel was introduced, it would appear, into Japan many centuries ago. The compiler of the "San-sai-dzue" thus speaks of what he takes to refer to the introduction of this water-wheel into this country. The *Nihon Koki*, he says, states that "In the sixth year of Tenchō, (A. D. 829,) the following Imperial rescript was issued:—'We have heard that it is the practice generally followed in China, in places where it is inconvenient to have aqueducts, to use wheels, driven by the hand, by the foot, by oxen, or otherwise, for the purpose of raising water in time of drought, and that this practice is found to be very convenient. Now the people of Japan have no contrivances of this sort, and so suffer on account of the drought. Let instructions be given, and let such implements be constructed among the people, and thereby the labor of the husbandman be assisted.' " The carrying out of this edict was entrusted to the Dainagon, Yoshimine Yasuyo, son of the Emperor Kwammu, who accordingly caused such water-wheels to be constructed by the people of the different provinces.

The irrigating water-wheel, thus introduced from the Continent of Asia, may be seen at work in Japan at the present day. Examples of it occur on the Tenryū-gawa, below Lake Suwa; and, in at least one instance there, a wheel, constructed on exactly the same principle as those

there used for the irrigation of the rice-fields, is employed at one and the same time for driving the machinery of a modern silk-filature, and for raising water from the river for the purposes of the filature.

There would not seem, however, to be any good reason for supposing that the same result, of a water-wheel, may not have been arrived at by two different ways. The steps leading to such result seem gradual ones, in both cases; and, as far as the uses are concerned to which the wheels are put in this country, these seem, even down to the present day, to have preserved, to some extent, their distinctive characteristics. Whether or not the *battari*, or anything corresponding to it, actually exists on the Continent of Asia, I am unable to say.* It is represented, I believe, in some Japanese drawings of Chinese subjects; but it is impossible to tell, without further information, whether this is a correct representation of the fact, or an error on the part of the artist. But even if a contrivance like the *battari* does exist on the Continent of Asia, this circumstance would not invalidate the theory that the water-wheel generally used for rice-mills, in the country districts here, is a development of such a contrivance.

NOTE.—As was requested at the meeting where this paper was read, the conjecture may be hazarded that the wheel developed from the *battari* is the original overshot waterwheel in this country and perhaps elsewhere; while the irrigating waterwheel may undoubtedly be taken as the original undershot wheel. A sketch of the latter, taken from the illustration given in the *San-sai-dzue*, is given in Fig. 9.

* Since this paper was read, the writer has learned that the waterlever is common in the North of Korea, and therefore probably elsewhere on the Continent of Asia.



Fig.1. *Kara* or *Oki-gara* (*Tsuki-usu*).

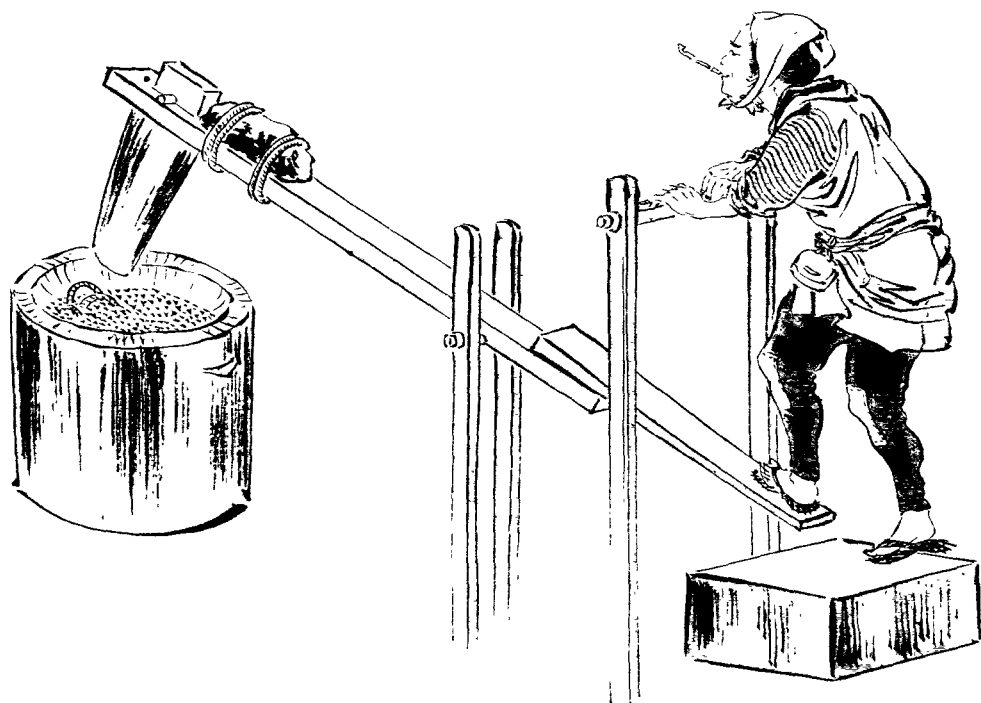


Fig.2. *Kara* or *Oki-gara* (*Tsuki-usu*).



Fig.3. a. Battari.

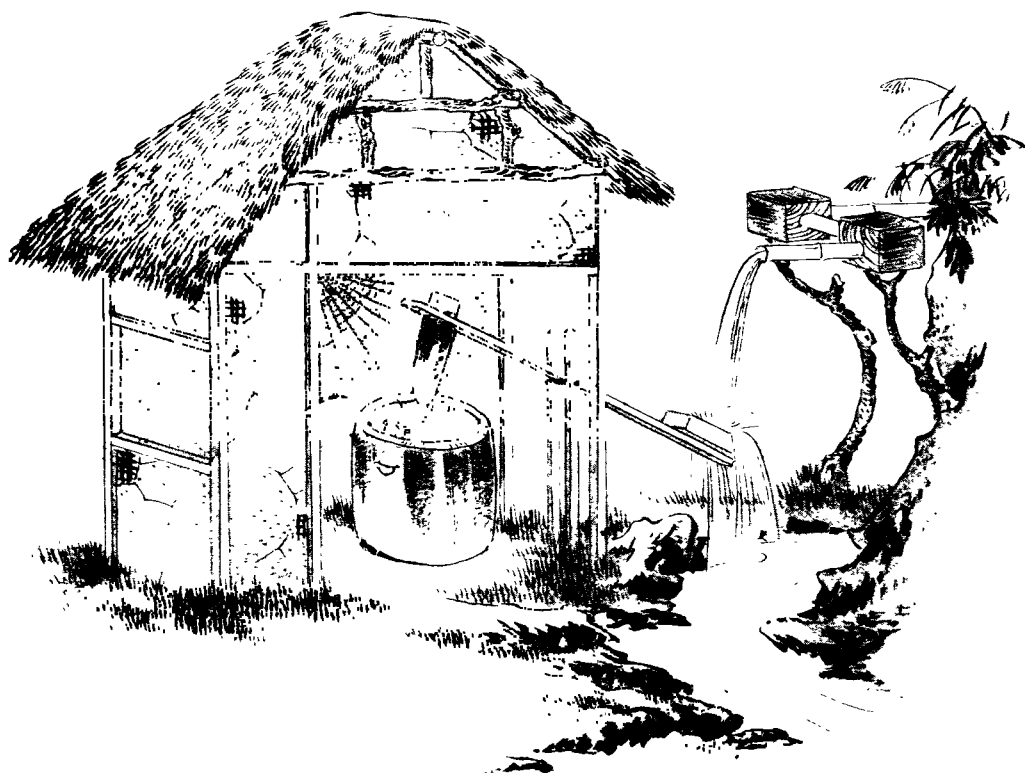


Fig.3. b. Battari.

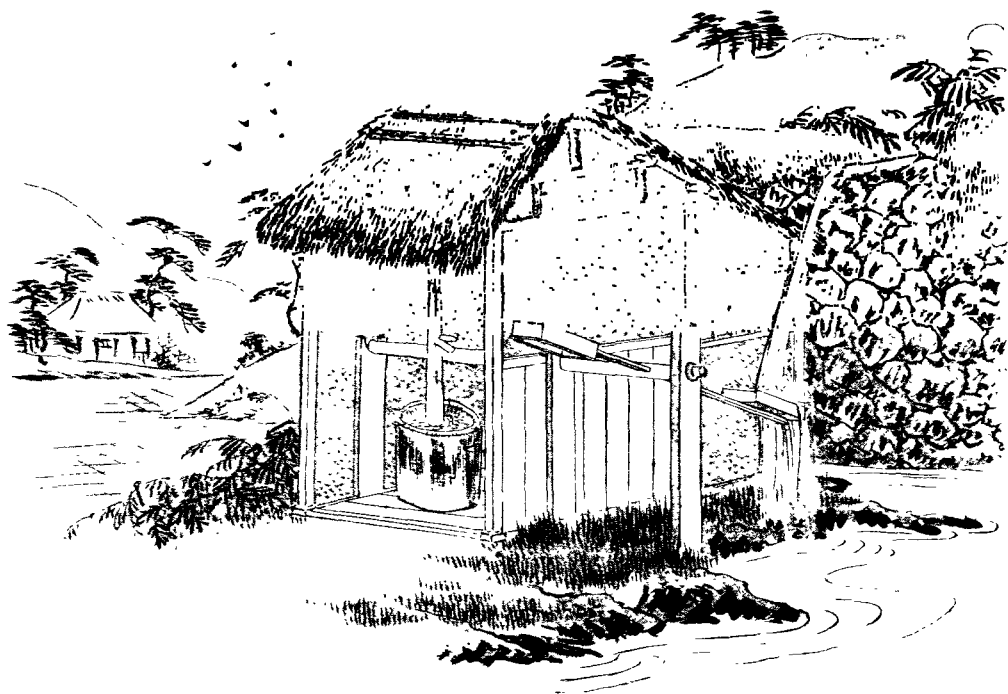


Fig.4. *Baitari.*

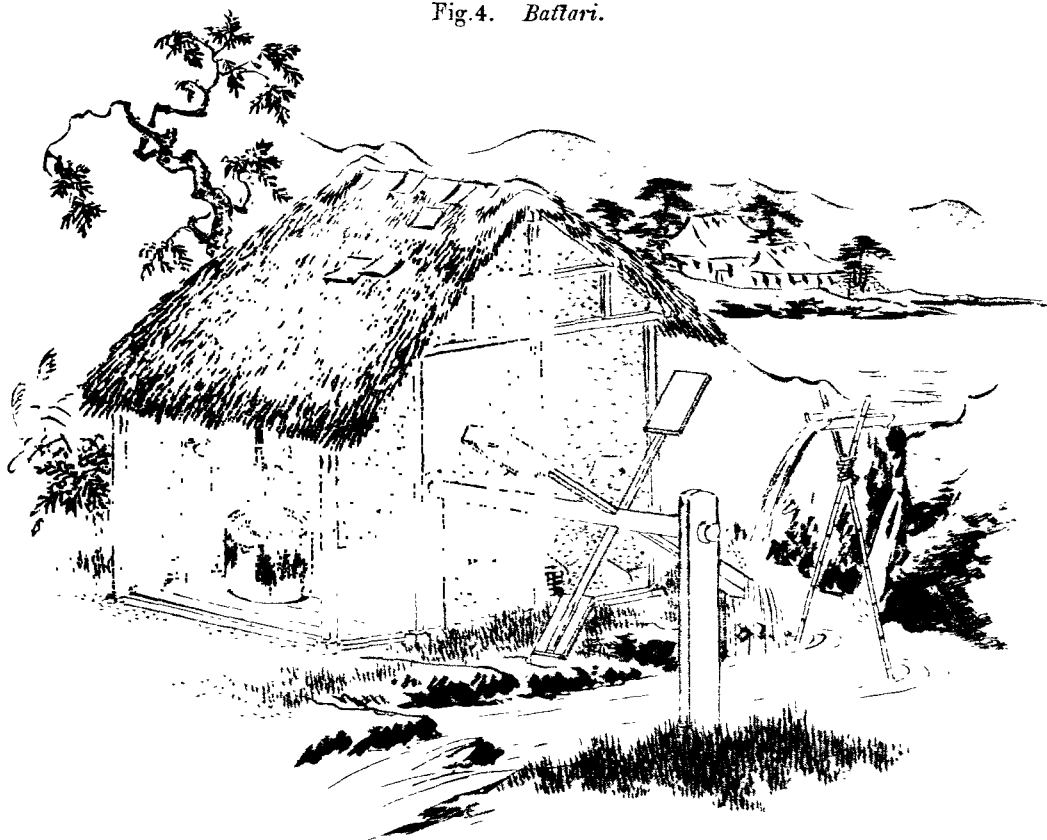


Fig.5. *Battari.*

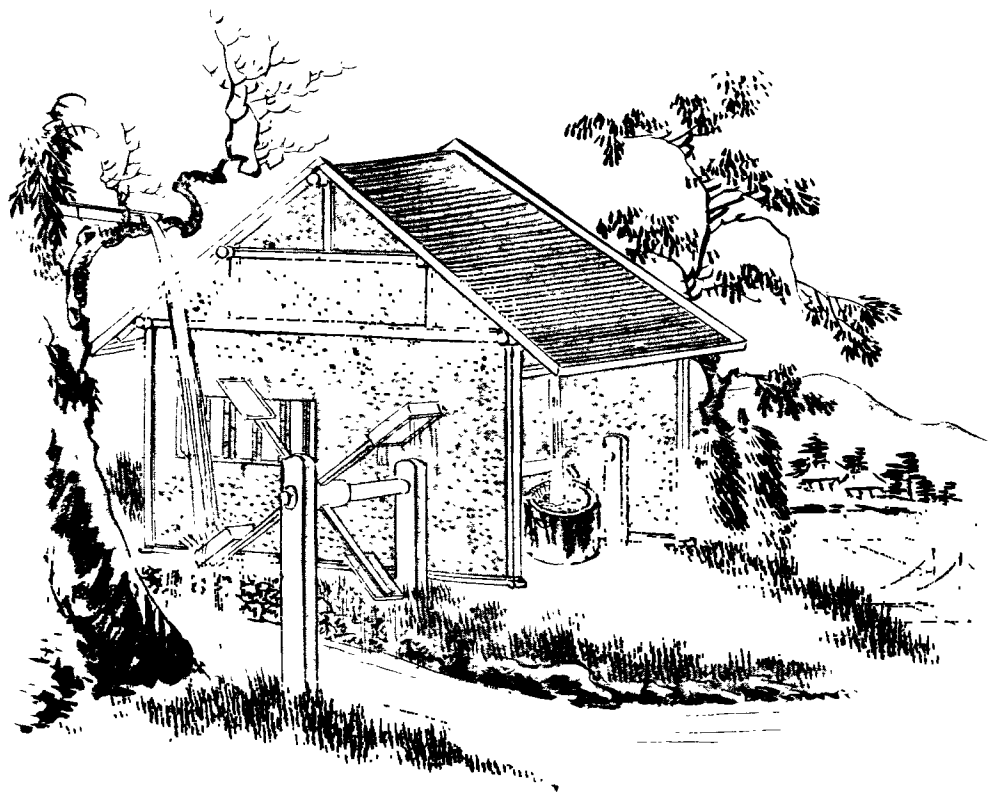


Fig.6. *Battari.*

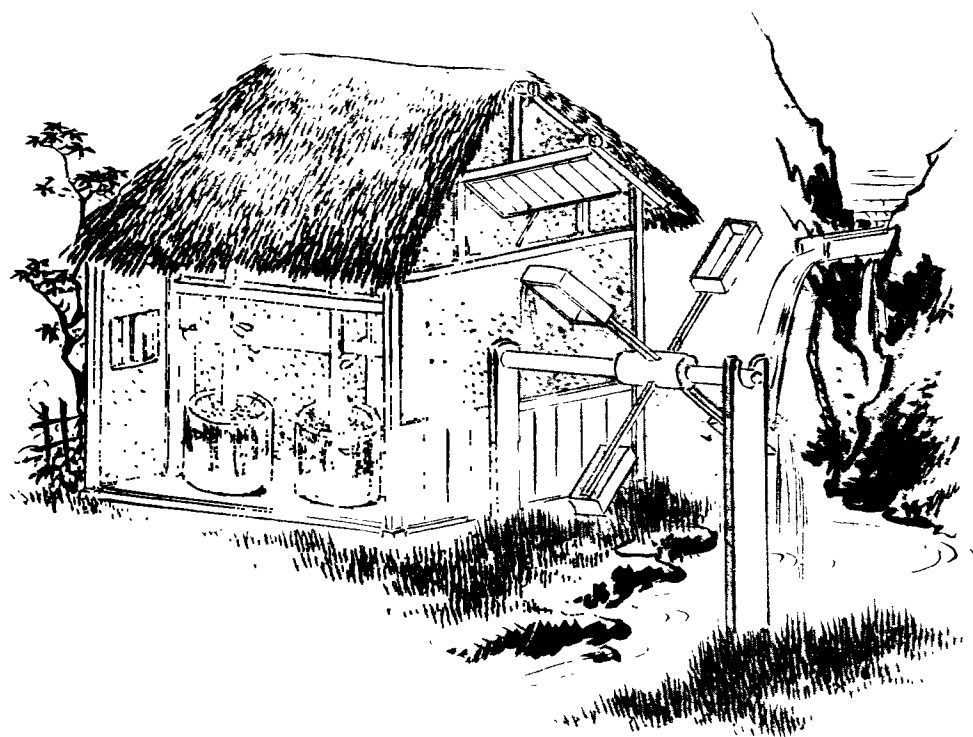


Fig.7.

6

7

8



Fig.8. *Midzu-guruma.*

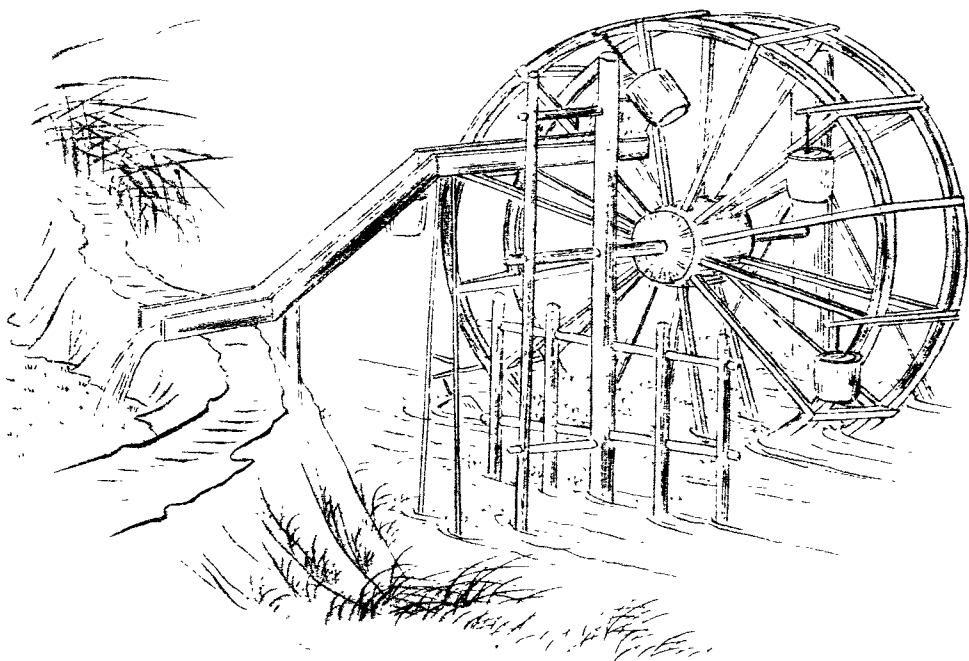


Fig.9. *Midzu-guruma (irrigating Water-wheel)*

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN JAPAN.

3 FEET 6 INCHES GAUGE.

BY FRANCIS H. TREVITHICK, ESQ., M.I.C.E., &c.

[*Read April 11th, 1894.*]

The Empire of Japan consists of a number of islands, extending from north-east to south-west about 1,250 miles ; and its breadth varies from 75 to 150 miles. The name of the main island is Honshu, and it occupies the central position, with Shikoku to the south, Kiushiu to the west, and the Hokkaido to the north. Railways have been constructed in these four Islands, and extensions are being carried out, and are under consideration.

This paper is compiled principally from the yearly reports issued by the Railway Bureau. These reports being translated and published by the *Japan Mail*. The last report was for the year ending 31st March, 1893 ; so the principal features and returns are in most cases to that period.

The country is hardly suitable for an extended railway system. It is volcanic and hilly, the centre being occupied by ridges whose peaks attain heights of from 7,000 to 10,000 feet and whose spurs extend to the coast. The celebrated mountain of Fuji, an extinct, or dormant volcano, is a cone of 12,365 feet high, in an almost isolated position near the coast. Rivers are numerous but not of great length. They are generally subject to violent floods.

either in early Summer from the melting of snow on the mountains, or in Autumn from general heavy rains. In many places the beds of the rivers are above the level of the surrounding country, and the breaking of the banks in flood-time occasions great destruction of property and ruin of agricultural land by deposit of sand and gravel.

The climate varies as regards the Winter, only slight falls of snow occurring south of the central mountains, while on the north-west a fall of eight feet may not be considered uncommon, and every year some trains are not run, and others are delayed through the effect of snow, besides a large sum is expended yearly in keeping the lines clear as long as possible. In all districts the Summer is hot.

Although the evident advantages of constructing railways in Japan had been, it is said, conceived by the then Government in the latter days of the Tokugawa Régime, there is, however, no record existent in proof of this allegation.

After the restoration the question of the necessity of the speedy introduction of railways occupied the attention of the Ministers of State, it was not until the year 1869 that the proposal was approved of by the Emperor, and His Majesty ordered a plan to be laid out for carrying out the scheme. Railways met, however, with such strenuous opposition from the large party which always endeavoured to impede any progress towards Western civilization, as well as with other difficulties which retarded the introduction of railways into England, and other countries, that it was only in the year 1870, that, thanks mainly to the persistent and enlightened efforts of Mr. (now Count) Ito, at that time Assistant Vice-Minister, and of Mr. (now Count) Okuma, then Vice-Minister of the Home and Finance Departments, that this great step towards the opening up and development of the country was eventually started.

It was decided to make a trunk line from Tōkyō to Kyoto, the new and old capitals of the Empire, by the Nakasendo route, and thence to Ōsaka and Kōbe, with branches to Yokohama and Tsuruga, and to complete the whole in from three to five years.

The work on the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama was begun in April 1870, and that between Kōbe, and Ōsaka in November of the same year.

In the words of congratulation addressed to Messrs. (now Counts) Ito, Okuma, and Sangi, on the occasion of the opening of the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama in September, 1872, His Majesty said:—"We express our great satisfaction for the undeviating obedience to our will for the introduction of railways, and the overcoming of all opposition and difficulties, and the consequent completion of the work we witness to-day." These words may convey some idea of the times in which this work was carried out.

The section between Ōsaka and Kyōto was commenced in December, 1873, and completed in February, 1877, when His Majesty opened the line between Kyoto and Kōbe. As the times did not seem in favour of further extension, several years were spent in simply maintaining the 40 or 50 miles of open lines, and while the railways were thus circumstanced disturbances occurred at Saga and Hagi, followed by the Formosan Expedition, and the Satsuma Rebellion. During this interval the Government being fully occupied in dealing with these momentous matters, were not able to give attention to railways. As for the people, they were yet not in a position to form an opinion as to their advantage or otherwise, so to wait anxiously was the only thing the railway authorities could do.

In April, 1878, the Government decided upon the extension of the line from Kyōto to Otsu, and when this was about completed it sanctioned the proposal for the

construction of the Tsuruga line in October, 1879. In April, 1882, the Government approved the scheme of extending the Tsuruga line from Nagahama to Sekigahara, upon the completion of which, it further sanctioned in August, 1883, another extension from the latter town to Ogaki.

From this it may be noted that the revival of railway extension began in 1878, but by no means to any active extent, as may be judged by the fact that some 5 or 6 years were spent in making less than 50 miles of railway.

At the close of 1883 the construction of the Nakasendo Railway was decided on, and the following remarks upon the Trunk Line between Tōkyō and Kyōto being altered from the Nakasendo to the Tokaido may be of interest.

In 1870, when the construction of railway lines was first contemplated by the Government and a general plan of the future railway system was decided on, it was determined that a trunk line should run between Tōkyō and Kyōto by the Nakasendo; but considering the requirements of the times and discriminating as to the proper order of carrying out the work, it was resolved first to commence operations on the Tōkyō-Yokohama, and Kobe-Ōsaka sections, the latter being subsequently extended as far as Kyōto and afterwards to Ōtsu. Later on a line was laid between Tsuruga and Ōgaki. At this time it had been proposed to run the trunk line between the two capitals along the Nakasendo, and in August, 1883, it was decided that the line should be constructed along this route. About the close of the same year, the Bonds for the Nakasendo Railway Line were placed on the market. Next year, work was commenced, on the one hand, between Ōgaki and Nagoya, and, on the other, between Takasaki and Yokogawa. But in order to reach the middle sections of the Nakasendo, the difficult pass of Usui had to be cut through in the east, while in the

west the large rivers of Ibi, Nagara, and Kiso had to be spanned, and great difficulties were met in transporting necessary materials, apprehending therefore much waste of time in procuring those materials, it was found necessary, for the purpose of facilitating transportation to construct in the west a line from the port of Naoetsu to Ueda in the Province of Shinano, and in the east one from Taketoyo to Nagoya in the Province of Owari. Not only was the laying of these lines a necessary step for the carrying on of work in the middle portion of the Nakasendo, but they were in themselves valuable for the purpose of facilitating trade in the respective localities. Accordingly the proposal for the building of these lines was submitted to the Government, and an order for the construction of the Naoetsu line was obtained in March, 1885, while sanction for the Taketoyo line was obtained in June the same year. These lines were at once commenced. In the course of the following year, when a working survey of the middle portions of the Nakasendo had been completed, and the general plan of the route considered, it was discovered not only that there were serious obstacles requiring an enormous expenditure of money, but that the speed of the trains would have to be reduced so much as to greatly enhance the working expenses, and that consequently the line when constructed would not fulfil the practical purposes of a railroad. It was, therefore, concluded that it would be better to run the line along the Tōkaido, thus connecting the Tōkyō-Yokohama line with the Nagoya line. The matter was fully reported to the Government, and in July of the same year instructions were received to the effect that operations on the central portions of the Nakasendo road should be discontinued, and that a line should be constructed along the Tōkaido. Work on the new line was commenced in the end of the same year, 1886. In January, 1888, instructions were also issued

for the construction of a line connecting Otsu with Nagahama along the eastern shore of Lake Biwa, and operations on that line also were at once begun.

According to calculations made at the time when the construction of the Nakasendo trunk line was decided upon, the distance between Takasaki and Ogaki was estimated at 220 miles, the cost being set down at Yen 20,000,000. The total amount to be actually transmitted to this Department after the issue of the Nakasendo Loan was fixed at Yen 18,220,000, which was the sum to be realized by the issue of the loan. From this amount Yen 458,000 was to be set aside as an auxiliary fund for the construction of the line between Tsuruga and Ogaki. Consequently the amount that remained for employment on the Tokaido line between Yokohama and Ogaki (including the Taketoyo line) and on the Takasaki-Naoetsu line, was represented by about Yen 17,760,000. The length of lines that has been laid with this amount of money is 368 miles in all. Comparing this length with the 220 miles of the Nakasendo, an increased mileage of 60 per cent is arrived at. Comparing the actual cost with the original estimated sum of Yen 20,000,000, we find a decrease of nearly 13 per cent.

It to this we add the 48 miles of the Kobo line (which runs along the eastern shore of Lake Biwa), the total distance of lines constructed reaches 416 miles, which is an increase of 95 per cent over the originally projected distance of 220 miles. The total cost will be represented by about Yen 18,000,000 a decrease of 10 per cent as compared with the estimated cost, Yen 20,000,000.

Besides the lines thus far alluded to, there remains the Yokosuka line, with a total length of 11 miles. Adding its length to the above mentioned figures, we get a total of 427 miles. The cost of this line was Yen 450,000, which when added to the above mentioned amount of Yen 18,000,000, raises the total to Yen 18,500,000.

From the year 1884 a turn took place and a period of activity set in. Several hundred miles were constructed within three or four years, and the final consummation of the programme originally laid down was accomplished in the year 1890, the trunk line, together with all the branches, amounting then to the total length of 540 miles. That 20 years were spent in completing this work does not indicate great speed in construction, but it will probably be seen that this tardiness was in consequence of the times, and that it was unavoidable.

In a word, the three years from 1870 to 1873 were a period of activity. The Tōkyō-Yokohama Section was begun in April, 1870, and completed September, 1872; a distance of 18 miles. The Kōbe-Ōsaka Section was commenced in November, 1870; the extension to Kyōto was taken in hand in December, 1873, and it was opened in February, 1877, by the Emperor; a distance of 47 miles and a further extension to Ōtsu was completed September, 1879, making this line 58 miles. From 1874 to 1877 was one of extreme dullness, ending finally in a complete stand still. In 1879 affairs became a little improved. The construction of the Tsuruga-Ōgaki Section was begun in May, 1880, and completed in July, 1884, a distance of 49 miles. In 1884 the sudden change set in favouring activity and speedy progress, and this has continued, although since 1890 the Government Railways have not increased in mileage. The Takasaki-Naoetsu Section (Usui-toge excepted) was commenced in October, 1884, and completed in December, 1888, a distance of 110 miles. The Yokohama-Ōgaki Section of 258 miles was constructed between August, 1885, and April, 1889; Ōfuna-Yokosuka Section of 10 miles, commenced in January, 1888, and completed July, 1889. The Ōtsu-Nagahama Section of 48 miles, commenced in February, 1888, completed July, 1889. And the last Section of the Government Lines, connecting Karuizawa Station with Yokogawa Station over the Usui-

toge on the Abt Railway System, was begun in March, 1891 and opened to the public April 1st, 1893, having a distance of 7 miles. Total length of open lines being 558 miles.

This completes an outline of the Government Railways, and now the Private Railways must be considered.

A short mineral railway was constructed in Iwate Ken to supply fuel and iron-ore to the puddling furnaces, built at Kamai-ishi. The line was made in 1879, and the gauge, 2 feet 9 inches, laid for the most part with flat footed rails weighing 35 lbs. to the yard, spiked to cross-sleepers, and with fished joints. The gradients are heavy, the ruling gradient being an incline of 1 in 31 for two miles, on which are curves of five chains (330 feet) radius. The three engines were manufactured by Messrs. Sharp, Stewart & Co. in England, and are four-wheeled coupled saddle tank engines, having a wheel-base of 5 ft. 9 inches; the diameter of the wheels 2 ft. 6 inches; the cylinders 1 ft. 6 inches stroke, and 1 ft. diameter, and having a working pressure of 150 lbs. to the square inch. The weight of each engine fully loaded with coal and water is 18 tons 15 cwt. As the working of the mines proved a failure, it was discontinued, and the rails and engines are now used on the Hankai Railway (Ōsaka to Sakai). The Hokkaido Railway runs from Temaya (Otaru) to Sapporo and Poronai.

A few years back, the Government being willing to sell the coal mines in the Poronai District of the Hokkaido, also the railway, a company was formed and bought from the Government the mines and railway, and it is now known as the Tanko Railway, and is one of the private lines having a mileage of $204\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

There is another private line in the Hokkaido, which was constructed to carry sulphur from the hills to the river, called the Kushiro Railway Company. It was opened for carrying passengers on the 1st September, 1892.

The first charter to a private company was issued in November, 1881 (11th month of the 14th year of Meiji), and it was called the Nippon Railway Company, and in accordance with the conditions agreed upon, the Railway Bureau was entrusted with the work of construction. This accounts for the remark, "a time of greater activity," though still, so far as Government railways were concerned, the advance was slow. The Railway Bureau having constructed the line to Mayebashi and Aomori, besides branches, the conditions agreed upon in 1881 were finally cancelled, and the Nippon Railway Company took over the whole control of the management, and of further extensions, also such officials who although working for the Company were on the books of the Railway Bureau, had either to resign, or return to the Government Railways. This change took place on the 1st April, 1892.

In connection with this first Railway Charter, it is well to note a circumstance concerning which there appears to be some misapprehension. It may be generally supposed that the roads of the Japan Railway Company were surveyed and built by the Company itself, whereas the truth is that up to the moment when these lines were ready for traffic, the Company had nothing to do with them beyond furnishing funds. The whole work was carried out by the Railway Bureau. The position of the Japan Railway Company was indeed a very happy one. It received from the Government the right to construct and own railways in certain populous districts: it received also a guarantee of 8 per cent. upon all its subscribed capital; and finally, the whole trouble and responsibility of surveying and constructing the lines was assumed by the Railway Bureau, the Company stepping in and undertaking the management when everything was completed. The days are past when associations of capitalists can hope to obtain such privileges. The Japan Railway Company was, in

a sense, the pioneer of private railway enterprise in this country, and it reaped a reward that looks large by the light of existing conditions.

The charter of the Nippon Railway Company is for 99 years; although the guarantee of 8 per cent on the capital by the Government is for 15 years only.

The charter of the Hankyo Railway Company is for 50 years; of the Iyo Railway Company for 17 years; of the Ryomo Railway Company for 20 years; of the Mito Railway Company for 20 years.

As might be expected after the generous terms granted by the Government to the Nippon Railway Company the spirit of railway enterprise grew quickly with the people, and public opinion was soon in favour of the promotion of railways by private companies, and companies sprang into existence throughout the country. It may be said that by 1887 of the spirit of railway enterprise had become almost a mania; 17 projects had by this time received sanction in accordance with the Government regulations; those that had carried on surveys on temporary license, and those that were surveying proposed routes amounted in 1887 to 17 companies with a mileage of about 1,375 miles, and a proposed capital of nearly 50,000,000 yen. By the end of March, 1893, the mileage of private railway companies then in operation was 1,319 miles, 36 chains; mileage of Private Railways either under construction, or, for which surveys have been made and charters have been granted, and hence possessing the right of construction, was 611 miles, 6 chains, making a grand total of 1,930 miles, 42 chains.

The mileage of all the Railways in operation on the 31st March, 1893 was 1,877 miles, 5 chains; of which 1,319 miles 36 chains belonged to Private Railways, and 557 miles 49 chains to the Government.

The advantageous terms granted to the Nippon Railway Company were not granted to the other Companies;

although in other ways help was given, in some cases a certain sum of money for every mile of line opened, besides receiving official support.

It may not be out of place to make some remarks in reference to a few points of importance before we conclude. These apply more or less to both the Private Railway Companies, and to the Government Railway.

In the construction of railways a very large amount of capital is required, and many difficulties must be contended with. Even after a line has been completed the work of carrying it on is no easy one. It is therefore imperatively necessary that projectors of railways should make themselves acquainted at the outset with the nature of the operations which will be called for, should properly understand the obstacles with which they have to contend; and satisfy themselves as to the amount of the proceeds likely to result. As a matter of fact, however, most of those who initiate railway enterprises in this country seem to think that they have made an ample estimate of the cost of construction when they reckon with an expenditure of thirty to forty thousand Yen per mile, without taking into account the nature of the locality through which their railway is to run; that they sufficiently provide for the cost of carrying on their road if they set apart half of their income for the purpose, no matter how much or how little that income may be; and that industrial and other advantages must at once follow upon the opening of a line. And not only is this so, but there are many persons who in starting railway companies are actuated solely by the desire to make profits, by speculating in the stock of such companies.

It is true that these evils are not confined to railway companies; other enterprises are beyond doubt equally liable to them. But just as the amount of capital invested in railway undertakings is much larger than that which is usually employed in other industries, so the

extent of the injury will be greater. With on the one hand people who are ready to invest their money blindly, and on the other those who use the occasion for their own speculative purposes, it seems unavoidable that there should be one or two severe failures, the result of which it is to be feared will be the infliction of a serious shock to public confidence in railways as an investment.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, that in undertaking the construction of a railway line, the object should not be confined to the direct profits that can be obtained from the capital invested in the enterprise, but attention should also be paid to the benefits indirectly accruing from the attendant development of industries and manufactures. The first point, however, that ought to engage the attention of railway projectors, is whether there is or is not a prospect of realizing a proper amount of profit against the capital invested. But it is to be regretted that, among the railway promoters of the present day, there are some who, discarding the prime requisite just mentioned, do not take the trouble to thoroughly and deliberately calculate the probable rate of profit. Such persons make a fatal mistake in estimating the advantages or disadvantages of a railway. They are perhaps merely the dupes of speculators who coöperate with them, and whose object is to turn such enterprise into a means of making money by other means than the operating of the line or lines projected. First, there are capitalists whose sole object is to gain money by speculating in the sale and purchase of shares. These people, though their names may appear on the list of the projectors of a railway, are often quite ignorant of the position and direction of the line. Nor do they in the slightest degree concern themselves with any questions as to the difficulty or otherwise of the works to be undertaken or with the future prospects of the scheme. They are only anxious to obtain permission for the establishment of their company, so that they may be able to secure profits

by their speculative operations. Secondly, there are wealthy local people who are popularly called "enthusiasts for railways" (Tetsudo Nesshin Ka). These persons are wont to say :—"In our locality there is not as yet a line of railway ; this makes us ashamed before the people of other districts."—Such being the *raison d'être* of their railway schemes, they do not care about the direct profits of their lines, and their imagination is engrossed with the hopes of the vast indirect benefits that may be conferred on their districts by railway construction. Thirdly, there is a class of men who are only desirous of becoming officers of a railway company, for the purpose either of displaying their ability, or, of obtaining a means of livelihood. Such people trouble themselves little about the permanent prosperity of the company, their end being attained if it only comes into existence. Men of this class are not qualified to make serious enquiries as to the advantage or disadvantage of any specified line of railway. A projector who may fall under any of these categories is only worthy of condemnation. Among the numerous railway promoters of the present day, it is impossible to deny that there are many answering one or other of the above descriptions. Railway projectors ought, therefore, to be on the alert, and to keep clear of such men. These things are noted here, not for the sake of discussion, but to show what precautions are necessary in railway enterprise.

In railway business, it is scarcely necessary to say, it is more profitable to extend the lines of a large company with a large capital, than to establish small companies working short lines with a scanty capital. A company working a line, however short, so long as it maintains a separate existence, must possess all the ordinary necessary equipments, such, for instance, as a staff of officers for the management of its affairs. Moreover, the number of passengers and the quantity of goods passing on a

railway line differ very much in different seasons, and consequently, when the necessary arrangements are made on a short line to meet the demands of the busiest season, a portion of the capital must be left entirely unemployed in ordinary seasons. Further, such a company is obliged to maintain a workshop for repairing vehicles, plant, tools, etc., etc. Thus a company has no facility to meet the increased demand at one part of the line by unemployed materials elsewhere, and it is easy to see that it will be unable to carry on business, unless by employing an amount of capital altogether out of proportion to the length of its line. When, on the other hand, a line which is already long is extended still further, or when a branch line is added to it, not only is profit obtained on the extended portion of the line or on the branch line, but the profit on the main line must also be more or less augmented. When, however, the extended portion or the branch line is put under independent management, it is necessary to maintain a very complicated system of accounts, so as to draw a distinction between the respective profits on the main line and on the extended portion, or branch line. Thus the company working the new section on the branch line will only be able to secure the profits made on the line under its own management. The position is like that indicated in the proverb which says, "the dog works hard while the falcon picks the game." When a limited number of railway companies alone are to be permitted to increase their capital and extend their lines, it is usually asserted by way of objection that such a step will lead to all the evils of monopoly. But a railway is in its very nature a kind of monopoly, and the extent of its line makes no difference. What is objectionable about a monopoly in railways, is no doubt the circumstance that there is danger of freights and fares being raised. But the experience of Europe and America proves such an apprehension to be groundless. Comparing the state

of things in former times, when there were in those countries countless numbers of railway companies owning each only a few miles of line, and the state of things at the present time when the smaller companies have been one after another absorbed by the larger corporations possessing more capital and working longer lines, and when a single company manages and works lines of several thousand miles in length, it is observed that the rate of charges has been by degrees greatly lowered simultaneously with the amalgamation of the lines. This experience was not bought cheaply, for by the amalgamation of lines in the West, the poorer and the weaker were, so to speak, playthings in the hands of the richer and stronger and a great deal of distress was caused to the former. In practise it may be difficult to fix the number of companies and the length of lines that can be maintained under separate management, for no standard capable of practical application is possible in these respects. The only possible way, therefore, of applying a check for the present, is to consider the topographical conditions and the general nature of the line proposed. At all events, the establishment of a great number of companies and the construction of independent short lines are anything but desirable, and this point ought to engage the attention of every person who has the Railway interest of this country at heart.

The Government has formed a Railway Committee of twenty-one members. These members represent the different departments of the Government, and special members represent other interests. When the committee is sitting it meets at the Teishinsho (Department of Communications), and all applications, plans, etc., for an extension of the present railway system, Government, or Private; or for a new charter for new railways, are considered by this committee, and reported on to the Government.

The standard gauge is 3 feet 6 inches; and no doubt this decision was greatly influenced by the discussion at the time taking place in England and India on the relative advantages of building all future railways in India on the metre gauge. The arguments then adduced in favour of the building of all future railways in India on the metre gauge were, on the ground of economy, both in construction and working; and the arguments in opposition to the introduction into that country of the break of gauge, etc. Nevertheless the Indian Government determined to adopt the metre gauge, and on the 14th of January, 1873, at which date $5,576\frac{1}{4}$ miles of railway of the 5 feet 6 inches gauge were in existence, the first section of the Rajputana Malwa metre-gauge State Railway was opened. The present railways in India may be thus classified by gauges on the open lines on 31st March 1892, $10,103\frac{3}{4}$ miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge; $7,171\frac{3}{4}$ miles of metre gauge; $288\frac{1}{2}$ miles special gauge; making 17,564 total mileage. This shows in 20 years that the Indian Railways increased $4,527\frac{1}{2}$ miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge to $7,171\frac{3}{4}$ miles of metre gauge.

The policy of making provisions for doubling the lines at dates admittedly before the traffic rendered the laying of a double line of way necessary was discussed in Japan during 1873; at the same time also the question of the alteration of the gauge from 3 feet 6 inches, to 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches was fully considered.

NOTE:—Those interested in this controversy should read Paper No. 2324 of the Institution of Civil Engineers, 12th March, 1889: Indian Railways; The Broad and the Narrow Gauge Systems Contrasted.

By many it may be regretted that the change of policy in Railway Construction discussed in 1873 was not adopted; and that the embankments, cuttings, tunnels, culverts, and piers for the bridges (excepting only the girders) for a double line were not constructed as it is manifest that they can better, more economically, and more conveniently, be arranged during the construction of the line than at any subsequent period; and it is thought that this will go far to outweigh any loss of interest on unproductive capital which has thus been entailed. An argument in opposition, is economy, and Japan not then being in a position to find the necessary capital. On this reasoning the policy of Japan and India is similar; India, with over 7,000 miles of metre gauge, has hardly a mile laid with a double line; and no preparation made for doubling the lines.

If the alteration of the gauge from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8½ inches had been carried out in 1873, when there were not 40 miles of line laid, it would have been better; but not having been then altered, it is too late now that there are over 2,000 miles of line laid, and for people to talk seriously about an alteration of gauge at the present time is foolish, and at the same time only showing their ignorance of the question.

If the expenditure required for altering the gauge was used in doubling the present line, it would then carry a larger traffic, and at a quicker speed, than a single line of the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, or even the 7 feet gauge, as is known to those who have travelled over a single line of the latter gauge.

The question of speed is the strongest point in favour of the alteration of the gauge. The following table of speeds will show the differences on the above gauges, and as these returns are quoted from good authorities they may be taken as fairly correct; the Indian Railways being

in so many ways similar to the Japanese Railways they are the best for comparison.

Average through Speed per hour.	Japan.		India.		English 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge.	Remarks.
	Govern- ment.	Kwaisha	5 ft. 6 in. Gauge.	Metro Gauge.		
Passenger Trains.	18½	17½	20.41	15.954	48	Express Trains
Mixed “	17½	17½	14.511	12.957	..	
Goods “	16½	16½	11.009	11.031	..	
Parliamentary “					19 to 28	Stopping at all Stations
Express Goods “					20 to 25	
Coal “					15	

The speed on the 5 feet 6 inches and the 3 feet 6 inches is not so very different.

The Government Trains between Tōkyō and Kōbe 376 miles, 31 chains; the Kwaisha line between Tōkyō and Awomori, 454 miles, 66 chains. The Indian times from a return on Indian Railways; and the English Railways from a book on English Railways.

If 200 miles of the line between Tōkyō and Kōbe were doubled and proper discretion used in the parts doubled, there should be no reason why through trains should not make the run at a rate of 25 miles per hour between the two places and also allow for a stoppage once in each hour.

Another point is the rolling stock not being as large as for the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge. There are engines running on this line weighing 45½ tons on the banks; and 36 tons on the level. The large carriages weigh 15 tons; the small carriages between 5 and 7 tons. The goods wagons have a carrying capacity of 15 tons, although supposed to carry 10 and 7 tons; these weights and

sizes are equal to the ordinary rolling stock of the wider gauge; the lines are able to carry all the traffic, and goods required; and are capable of carrying much more, if the rolling stock is increased, and if the principal lines have a double track. The principle underlying all questions of gauge is, that a machine is comparatively speaking economical only when working at its full power. The best gauge for any particular railway is, therefore, merely a question of the amount and description of traffic that will probably come on the line, not on the cost of the construction, but on the cost of working, including the interest on the capital expended.

The great earthquake which occurred on the morning of the 28th of October, 1891 has caused the railway engineers to consider the effect of earthquakes when making their plans for bridges and other structures.

The Tōkyō-Kōbe Railway suffered greatly from this tremendous earthquake, on the section between Hamamatsu and Maibara (Hamamatsu 167 miles, 56 chains, and Maibara 284 miles 32 chains from Tōkyō). The railway embankments within this district sank at 45 different places, and some of the greater depressions measured over 13 feet in depth. The ground was cracked at innumerable places, and the rails were shaken out of position to the extent of being forced at many places to assume a serpentine shape. Sixty-three bridges, including the large bridge over the Kiso with nine spans of 200 feet; the Nagara with five spans of 200 feet and four spans of 100 feet, and the Ibi with five spans of 200 feet; and the wing walls of 41 culverts were wrecked. The abutments of many of these bridges were split right through, and in some cases the piers were demolished and the superstructure overthrown into the rivers. The buildings at all the intervening stations suffered to a greater or less extent; some were totally destroyed, others were left in inclining positions, and none escaped scathless.

Indeed, the destruction wrought by this earthquake particularly between Atsuta and Ogaki, was so appalling as to be indescribable.

The traffic between Hamamatsu and Maibara having been brought, on this account, to a sudden standstill, no time was lost in making the necessary distribution of the staff, and the work of rendering the railway serviceable by repairing the damages, both to the road and the bridges, was vigorously proceeded with. Rough buildings were put up to serve for the time being the purposes of those which were destroyed, and such portions of the line as had been sufficiently repaired to admit of the resumption of traffic were opened at short intervals as the works progressed. However, the speedy resumption of traffic over the portion of the line between the Kiso and the Ibi rivers was not possible, for both of the important bridges spanning these wide rivers, as well as other large bridges situated in the interval, had sustained damages which precluded their expeditious restoration. Before the work of repairing or reconstruction proper could be taken in hand, the actual nature of the injuries sustained had to be ascertained by removing the enormous piles of brick forming the piers and abutments, and while this preliminary work was going on, the weighty superstructures had to be kept in position by means of temporary supports. In the case of the Nagara river bridge, the cast iron piles upon which the girders rested were demolished, and their entire reconstruction was unavoidable. Brick piers over well foundations of the same material were adopted to replace the broken piles. The positions of the piers had to be shifted, which necessitated the provision of an additional span of 60 feet girder. When the erection of the new piers was completed, the 200 feet girders, which had been overthrown into the river had to be restored in position on them. It has been found that in carrying out reconstruction works

of this kind, the difficulties to be surmounted amount to as much again as those usually met in the undertaking of new works. However, taking the different works as a whole, they may be said to have been finished within the space of five months, that is the repairs of the earthquake damages. The traffic on the section between the Kiso river and Gifu station was opened on the 12th March, 1892, and the reconstruction of the Nagara river bridge which had been pushed forward with the utmost rapidity, was completed on the 30th of the same month. As the rebuilding of the Stations at Nagoya and Kiyosu was the only work remaining unfinished at that date, the resumption of through traffic between Tōkyō and Kōbe was commenced on the 16th of April.

The Taketoyo and the Tsuruga lines likewise suffered from the effects of the earthquake; embankments crumbled down, and bridges, culverts, wing-walls, and the station and other buildings were injured more or less. The traffic on the Taketoyo line was suspended. The necessary repairs were conducted with all possible speed, and the line was in a condition to be reopened by the 21st of December.

The principal works done may be summarized as follows:—Earthworks for the repairing of embankments, 15,730 tsubo; masonry for repairing stone walls, over 1,000 tsubo; sods laid on embankments, 2,590 tsubo; temporary railway lines laid, 28 chains, 30 links; bridges of all sizes, the piers and abutments of which were reconstructed, 35; Wing-walls of bridges and culverts repaired, 207; Culverts reconstructed, 5; Buildings reconstructed or repaired, 34; with the aggregate area of 2,262 tsubo. The expenditures on account of repairing the damage to railway property caused by this great earthquake represents the large sum of Yen

NOTE:—A tsubo is 6 feet cube,=8 cubic yards: or 6 feet square.

472,016; from which inference may be made of the extensiveness of the damage wrought. To this must be added the loss of revenue caused by the through traffic being suspended during five months.

It was on October 28th, 1891, at 6h., 37', 11" in the morning when the first shock of the great earthquake was experienced, that being far and away worse than any of the many which succeeded it. It brought down the heavy tiled roofs and stone laden thatches, and in a moment buried thousands of living people beneath them, and then fires broke out amongst the ruins. Nagoya, Kasamatsu, Gifu, Ogaki, and other towns near to the railway, suffered severely, a train having only a few minutes previously crossed the Nagara bridge and at the time of the earthquake was at Gifu station. The statistical account of damage in the six provinces through which the railway runs and coming under the five Prefectures of Gifu, Aichi, Fukui, Miye, and Shiga, is as follows:—

Provinces	Wounded.	Killed.	Buildings entirely destroyed.	Buildings half destroyed.	Burnt.	Shattered and Burnt.
Mino	12,311	4,889	114,616	30,994	249	5,934
Owari	4,877	2,357	80,845	43,845	196	...
Mikawa ...	49	13	1,020	1,464	...	...
Echizen ..	98	12	1,080	1,188	...	...
Omi	47	6	153	366	...	...
Miye	11	2	233	439	...	...
Total....	17,393	7,279	197,947	78,296	445	5,934

The principal casualties in connection with the Traffic are due to floods; and yearly through communication is stopped for a time on most of the railways, the Sanyo Railway has been the most unfortunate, then the Karuisawa Naoetsu Line, the Nippon Railway, and the Tokaido Railway. Allowing for the nature of the country, and the heavy rain storms, if the engineers had used more care in considering the effect of floods in the district through which the railway was to run and then provided ample room for the flood water to pass through the culverts and bridges, the annoyance to passengers and the expense to the railway companies would have been much less.

The railway fund granted by the Government from the first establishment of railways (March, 1870) up to the close of March, 1893, amounted to yen 37,563,836. The total length of open lines, miles 551. The average cost per mile, yen 60,667. This does not include the Usui Mountain Railway, as it was not in operation. The cost of this line is about yen 2,000,000, the distance 7 miles, so the average cost per mile is yen 285,714.

The following statement shows the area, population, and coast line, of the four islands which have railways.

Division.	Circumference	Area.	Population.	Per Sq. Ri.
Honshiu ...	2,475.46 ri.	14,571.12 sq. ri.	30,715.265	2,108
Shikoku ...	675.81 “	1,180.67 “ “	2,879.260	2,440
Kyushiu . .	1,846.86 “	2,617.54 “ “	5,755.958	2,199
Yezo.....	628.51 “	5,061.90 “ “	293.461	48
Total of Japan.	7,029.11 ri.	24,794.39 sq. ri.	40,453.461	1,632

NOTE.—1 ri=2.44 English Miles

Viscount Enoye Masaru has filled the position of Director of Railways, besides other offices, from the commencement of Railways until March, 1893, when he resigned. Great credit is due to him from his country for the present Railway System; and this respect was shown by the presents he received after his resignation was accepted by the Government—from the Emperor, the different private railways, and the employés. A man of strong will, and self-confidence, he had the respect of his own people, as well as that of his foreign staff, which once was large although at the present time the very few remaining act only as advisers.

The administration of Railways is of great importance. The English System may be quoted as a good example, and those who study the Japanese System will see where the differences come in.

The English System is carried out by the Board of Directors; each director must have a qualification of holding ordinary stock. The executive management of the line is carried on by a General Manager, a Goods Manager, and a Superintendent of the line, who deals with all things pertaining to the movement of the traffic and trains. The Chief Engineer is over the maintenance of the road, the buildings, and the different stations and goods yards. The Locomotive Superintendent has charge of all the locomotives, the work shops for building and repairing the rolling stock, and all mechanical appliances, such as stationary engines, and the cranes in the goods-sheds, etc., etc.

The Staff is chosen with special reference to their suitability for the duties they are called upon to perform, care being taken that every man entrusted with a responsible duty is thoroughly trained for its performance and competent; every man has his duties thoroughly defined and knows what is required of him. It is not enough that every man should be fit for his duties and trained for

their performance, but he must actually perform them. The railway service is preeminently one requiring for its efficient conduct a high degree of smartness, alacrity, energy, and zeal. Choose subordinates carefully and well, and let them be men thoroughly to be relied on. Then trust them to carry out detail, thereby allowing them certain authority of action.

For the maintenance of a sound and good permanent way a perfect system of drainage is necessary, taking particular care to obtain a uniformly solid and level bed for each sleeper, so that it may take precisely its proper share of the weight of the passing train; where facing points are necessary, so arrange that the engines and carriages run over without throwing the passengers from their seats. If it be asked what is the steepest gradient a railway should have, the answer is "The best that can be obtained under all the circumstances; or, in other words, the nearest to a dead level." There are cases in which the physical conditions of a country will only permit of a railway being constructed with sharp curves and steep gradients except at practically prohibitive cost; it is nevertheless a fact that the less the deviation from a straight line and moderate gradients, the greater is the safety and economy of working and in constructing a main line of railway. It is frequently worth while to incur heavy outlay at the outset rather than handicap the undertaking with difficulties of working. In practice it is usually found that sharp and frequent curves are associated with steep gradients, and, upon railways which have to be constructed in this manner, the trains must necessarily be lighter, and the average speed must be considerably less than where the conditions are more favourable. Such lines are, therefore, in proportion to the traffic carried over them, more expensive to work and maintain, and either lighter trains are run or heavier locomotives required.

Sharp and reverse curves add to the train resistance and increase the risks attending a high rate of speed, and they also largely contribute to the fatigue experienced by a passenger after a long railway journey. To maintain the permanent way of a railway in perfect working order, a very careful and complete system of organisation becomes necessary.

The Locomotive Superintendent has complete charge of arranging the disposal and running of the locomotives, the full control of working the shops, and under him is a Running Superintendent and a Shop Manager. The Superintendent makes the plans for building the shops, and at the same time has a properly prepared design for any enlargement, taking into consideration extent of ground at his disposal. A well arranged locomotive yard, well drained, with good shops, suited to work with economy, and all the engines and shops in a clean state: these remarks do not properly apply to the Japanese management.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Government Railway had open to the public 557 miles, 49 chains. The Private Railways 1,319 miles, 36 chains. Added together it makes a mileage of 1,877 miles 5 chains of line in operation.

Table of mileages of all the Railways in operation the 31st March, 1893.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

	M. CH.	M. CH.
Shimbashi-Kōbe Section	376.31	
Ōfuna-Yokosuka Section	10.03	
Ōbu-Taketoyo Section	12.01	
Maibara-Kanegasaki Section	31.01	
Takasaki-Naoetsu Section	117.10	
Baba Ōtsu Section †	1.23	
Fukatani Nagahama †	9.60	
	—————	557.49

NIPPON RAILWAY.				
Ueno-Aomori Section	...	...	...	454.66
Shinagawa-Akabane Section	...	...	...	12.76
Ōmiya-Maebashi Section	...	...	...	51.14
Utsunomiya-Nikko Section	...	...	...	25.00
Iwakiri-Shiogama Section	...	...	...	4.23
Ueno Akihanohara Section †	...	...	...	1.15
Ōyama-Mito Section	...	...	...	41.45
Mito-Nakagawa Section †	...	...	...	.62
				591.61
KOBU RAILWAY.				
Shinjiku to Hachioji	...	...	...	22.77
RYOMO RAILWAY.				
Ōyama to Maebashi	...	...	...	52.17
SANYO RAILWAY.				
Kōbe-Mihara Section	...	...	...	143.40
Hyōgo-Wadanomisaki Section †	...	...	...	1.64
				145.24
KYUSHU RAILWAY.				
Moji to Kumamoto	...	...	...	121.31
Tosu to Saga	...	...	...	15.30
				136.61
KANSEI RAILWAY.				
Kusatsu-Yokkaichi Section	...	...	...	49.25
Kameyama-Tsu Section	...	...	...	9.60
				59.05
ŌSAKA RAILWAY.				
Ōsaka-Takada Section	...	...	...	23.11
Ōji-Nara Section	...	...	...	9.44
				32.55
HANKAI RAILWAY.				
Ōsaka to Sakai	...	...	...	6.13
CHIKUHO RAILWAY.				
Wakamatsu-Kaneda Section	...	...	...	21.64
Nokata-Otake Section	...	...	...	3.69
				25.53

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

IYO RAILWAY.

Satogawa to Takahama Section... ..	5.66
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SANUKI RAILWAY.

Marugame to Kotohira Section	10.15
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HOKKAIDO RAILWAY.

Temiya-Poronai Section	56.02
Hironaifuto-Ikushunbetsu Section	4.39
Muroran-Utashinai Section	114.39
Sunagawa-Sorachifuto Section	2.68
Oiwake-Yubari Section	26.49
Sanbashi-Temiya Section † ... ..	.34
	<hr/> 204.71

KUSHIRO RAILWAY.

Shibecha to Atosanobori	25.78
Total	<hr/> 1,879.05

Table of mileage of Government and Private Railways either under construction, or for which surveys have been made, *i.e.* of the lines projected by companies for which they had been granted charters and hence possessing the right of construction on 31st March, 1893.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

	M. CH.	M. CH.
Tsuruga-Toyama	123.60	
Fukushima-Aomori	298.20	422.00
<hr/>		
Kobu Railway :	M. CH.	M. CH.
Shinjiku to Misakicho	4.20	
Sanyo Railway :		
Mihara to Shimonoseki... ..	157.13	

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

Kyushiu Railway :

Kokura to Gyohashi	...	...	}
Kumamoto to Yashiro and Misumi			}	... 134.40
Saga to Nagasaki and Sasebo	...		}	

Kwansei Railway :

Yokkaichi to Kuwana...	8.15
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Ōsaka Railway :

Minato machi M'meda (Ōsaka)	}	10.23
Takata to Sakurai...	}	

Iyo Railway :

Sotogawa to Hiraigawara	4.34
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Chikuhō Railway :

Kanda to Ikari	}	8.02
Kotaketo Iizuka	}			

Koshin Railway :

Gotemba to Matsumoto	136.00
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Sōbu Railway :

Honjo to Sakura	31.00
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Sangu Railway :

Tsu to Kamata	22.40
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Hoshū Railway :

Gyohashi to Yokkaichi	}	43.65
Gyohashi to Kashun Ikari	}			

Settsu Railway :

Amagasaki to Itami	}	14.34
Ikeda to Ikuse	}			

Kawagoe Railway :

Kawagoe to Kokubunji	18.20
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Ōme Railway :

Ōme to Tachikawa	13.07
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Nippon Railway :

Shiriuchi to Minato	5.13
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					611.06
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Total	1,033 06
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These lines are shown upon the accompanying Map ; together with the lines surveyed by the Government, which have not as yet passed the Government Railway Board for the Investigation of Railway Routes.

In many cases there are two or more routes surveyed to the same place ; the following are the systems surveyed.

SURVEY OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAY ROUTES.

In accordance with the provisions of Law No. 4 for the Construction of Railways promulgated in June, 1892, and the authority given under the Minister of State for Home Affairs' Order No. 434, relative to the Expenditures for the prosecution of surveys of railway lines throughout the Empire, a Board for the Investigation of Railway Routes was established in the Railway Department. Under the supervision of this Board, the surveys and examinations of the different lines of railway to be laid within the first construction period specified in the clause No. 7 of the Law for the Construction of Railways, were begun in the early part of August, 1892. The field work was brought to an end in December. The compilation of drawings and statistics were then proceeded with, and a complete report of the results of the surveys and of the investigations was drawn up last February.

The lines surveyed and their lengths are as follow :—

THE CENTRAL SYSTEM.

	Miles.	Miles.
Hachioji to Kofu	52	
Gotemba to Kofu	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Kofu to Suwa	38 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Suwa to Nagoya viâ Chikuma	129 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Suwa to Nagoya viâ Ina	142 $\frac{1}{4}$	
<hr/>		
Total		410 $\frac{3}{4}$

THE HOKURIKU SYSTEM.

Tsuruga to Toyama	123 $\frac{3}{4}$
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THE HOKU ETSU SYSTEM.

Maebashi to Shibata	134 $\frac{1}{2}$
Niizu to Niigata	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Toyono to Kawaguchi	59 $\frac{1}{4}$
Naoetsu to Ichinotsubo	49 $\frac{7}{8}$
<hr/>	
Total	542 $\frac{1}{8}$

THE ŌU SYSTEM.

Fukushima to Aomori	298 $\frac{1}{4}$
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THE SANYO SYSTEM.

Hiroshima to Shimonoseki	157
Kaidaichi to Kure	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>	
Total	169 $\frac{1}{2}$

THE KYUSHU SYSTEM.

Saga to Nagasaki	75 $\frac{1}{4}$
Shinmura to Sasebo	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kumamoto to Misumi	22 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>	
Total	111

THE KINKI SYSTEM —(MAIZURU LINE).

Kyōto to Maizuru (to the locality of the proposed Naval Station)	62 $\frac{1}{4}$
Tsuchiyama to Ayabe	58
Total	120 $\frac{1}{4}$

THE KINKI SYSTEM —(WAKAYAMA LINE).

Takata to Wakayama	45 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yagi to Toge	6 $\frac{5}{8}$
Ōsaka to Wakayama	46 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total	98 $\frac{3}{8}$

LINES FOR CONNECTING THE SANIN WITH THE SANYO
SYSTEM.

Himeji to Tottori and Sakai	135 $\frac{1}{4}$
Okayama to Yoneko	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kurashiki to Neame	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	295 $\frac{1}{4}$

Grand Total	1,882 $\frac{1}{2}$
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Of the above enumerated lines the construction of the Hokuriku and the Ōu systems was decided upon, and on the 25th of last March final resolution was taken that the works on these railways should be begun during the next fiscal year.

PRIVATE RAILWAYS.

Applications received during the year ending March 31, 1893, for permission to form companies for the purpose of constructing railways were 7 in number, viz.:—The Nanyō, Dogo, Ota, Shinkaku, Sano, Boso, and Kojima Railways. Of these the Boso and Shinkaku Railways are designed to

Note.—Besides the above, flying surveys of alternate lines of several portions of these routes, covering a total distance of 593 miles, were made.

The expenditure incurred in carrying out the whole of this work amounted to Yen 68,667.

use electricity as the motive power. Applications were also received from the Sobu Railway Company for permission to construct a branch line from Koiwa to Honjō, and another from the Kansei Railway Company for licence to extend their line from Tsuge to Nara, and from Kuwana to Nagoya. Of these 9 applications, that of the Sobu Railway, together with an application made in the 22nd fiscal year by the Bantan Railway Company, were granted. All others were under consideration at the date up to which this report deals. Information about the situation of the offices, amount of capital, the location and length of lines, etc., of these railways will be found in the table below.

Charters were granted to the following five companies :—The Kawagoe, Ome, Kushiro, Settsu, and Nippon Railway Company (for its branch from Shiriuchi to Minato). Of these the Kushiro Railway Company was granted licence to open their line for public traffic on the 1st of September, 1892.

Licences were granted during the year under review permitting the opening for public traffic of the following lines of railway :—Mitsu-Takahama Section of the Iyo Railway, Onomichi-Mihara Section of the Sanyo Railway, the whole of the line of the Kushiro Railway, and the Nokata-Kotake and Nokata-Kaneda Section of the Chikuhō Railway. Beside the above, licence was granted the Hokkaido Railway Company to open their Muroran and Yubari line. All the lines projected by this Company were thereby brought to completion. The aggregate mileage of the private railways opened during the year is 153 miles 43 chains. A detailed account of these matters is given in the tabulated form below.

The total mileage of the railways of the different companies in operation at the close of the year under review amounted to over 1,319 miles. The lines open, lines under construction and lines surveyed are given in the Railway Sketch Map.

Charters were granted to :—

The Kawagoe Railway Company :

Office—Tokorozawa, Saitama Ken.

Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.

Capital—Yen 300,000.

Line—Kokubunji to Kawagoe.

Length—18 miles, 20 chains.

Period of Construction—2 years.

The Ōme Railway Company :

Office—Ōme, Kanagawa Ken.

Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.

Capital—Yen 100,000.

Line—Ōme to Tachikawa.

Length—13 miles, 7 chains.

Period of Construction—2 years.

The Kushiro Railway Company :

Office—Shibecha, Hokkaido.

Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.

Capital—Yen 200,000.

Line—Shibecha Atosanobori.

Length—26 miles, 50 chains.

Construction completed.

The Settsu Railway Company :

Office—Itami, Hyogo Ken.

Charter—Granted 28th December, 1892.

Capital—Yen 240,000.

Line—Amagasaki to Itami and Itami to Ikeda
and Ikuse.

Length—14 miles, 34 chains.

Period of Construction—15 months.

The Nippon Railway Company :

Office—Tokyo.

Charter—Granted 31st March, 1893.

Line—Shiriuchi to Minato.
 Length—5 miles, 13 chains.
 Period of Construction—1 Year.

Charters applied for by :—
 The Sano Railway Company :
 Office—Kuzuo-machi, Tochigi Ken.
 Capital—Yen 145,000.
 Line—Kuzuo to Koshinagawa.
 Length—9 miles, 50 chains.

The Shinkaku Railway Company :
 Office—Kôbe, Hyôgo Ken.
 Capital—Yen 300,000.
 Line—Kôbe to Mita-machi.
 Length—17 miles, 32 chains.

The Boso Railway Company :
 Office—Tôkyô.
 Capital.—Yen 230,000.
 Line—Soga-machi to Ozuna.
 Length—11 miles, 39 chains.

Provisional charter granted to :—
 The Nippon Railway Company :
 Office—Tôkyô.
 Provisional Charter—Granted 27th December,
 1892.
 Line—Shiriuchi to Minato.
 Length—5 miles, 13 chains.
 Period of survey—6 months.

The Sobu Railway Company :
 Office—Tôkyô.
 Provisional charter—Granted 21st February,
 1893.

Line—Koiwa to Honjō.

Length—5 miles, 40 chains.

Period of survey—6 months.

Bantan Railway Company :

Office—Shikama, Hyōgo Ken.

Provisional charter—Granted 8th March, 1893.

Capital—Yen 1,000,000.

Line—Shikama-Ikuno.

Length—29 miles.

Period of survey—10 months.

Provisional Charters applied for by :—

The Nanyō Railway Company:

Office—Gunchiu, Ehime Ken.

Capital—Yen 85,000.

Line—Sotogawa to Gunchiu.

Length—7 miles, 10 chains.

The Dōgo Railway Company :

Office—Dogo, Ehime Ken.

Capital—Yen 28,000.

Line—Yunomachi to Funaya and Furumachi.

Length—2 miles, 23 chains.

The Ota Railway Company :

Office—Ōta, Ibaraki Ken.

Capital—Yen 160,000.

Line—Ōta to Mito.

Length —13 miles.

The Kansei Railway Company :

Office—Yokkaichi, Mie Ken.

Capital—Yen 1,960,000.

Line—Kuwana to Nagoya.

Length—15 miles 40 chains.

The Kansai Railway Company :

Capital—Yen 1,540,000.

Line—Tsuge to Nara.

Length—31 miles, 57 chains.

The Kojima Railway Company :

Office—Kurashiki, Okayama Ken.

Capital—Yen 170,000.

Line—Kurashiki to Ajino.

Length—11 miles, 21 chains.

The following lines of railway were opened for public traffic after duly passing the inspection of the Railway Department :—

The Iyo Railway Company : M. CH.

Line—Mitsu to Takahama 1.48

Opened—6th May, 1892.

The Sanyo Railway Company :

Line—Onomichi to Mihara 5.51

Opened—13th July, 1892.

The Hokkaido Railway Company :

Line—Muroran to Iwamizawa 83.48

Opened—1st August, 1892.

The Hokkaido Railway Company :

Line—Oiwake to Yubari 26.49

Opened—1st November, 1892.

The Kushiro Railway Company :

Line—Shibecha to Atosanobori 25.78

Opened—1st September, 1892.

The Chikuho Railway Company :

Line—Nokata to Kotake 3.69

Opened—18th October, 1892.

The Chikuho Railway Company :

Line—Nōkata to Kaneda 6.20

Opened—6th February 1893. _____

Total 153.43

For the purpose of showing the working of private railways, the Receipts, Working Expenses, per centages of the Net Earnings, etc., for the year under review, of the Nippon and twelve other railway companies, as they appear in their respective reports, are given and compared with those of the previous year in Table No. 11 to be found at the end of this paper.

Table of mileage of all railways in operation on the 31st March, 1893 is 1877 miles 5 chains. To the end of June, 1894 the following railways have since been opened to the public.

Railways.	Line.	Mileage m. ch.	Date.
Iyo Railway Co. ..	Sotogawa-Hiraigawa.	4.33	May 7, 1893
Ōsaka “ “ ..	Takata-Sakurai	6.	May 23, 1893
Chikuho “ “ ..	Kotake-Iidzuka	5.05	July 3, 1893
Sangu “ “ ..	Tsu-Miyagawa	23.58	Dec. 31, 1893
Settsu “ “ ..	Amagasaki-Ikeda ..	8.35	Dec. 12, 1893
Nippon “ “ ..	Shinichi-Hachinohe	3.30	Jan. 4, 1894
Sano “ “ ..	Kudzu-Koshinagawa.	9.60	March 20, 1894
Sanyō “ “ ..	* Itozaki-Hiroshima.	46.22	June 10, 1894

Total mileage since 31st March, 1893 ..107.03

The total mileage opened in Japan on the 11th June, 1894 being 1,984 miles 8 chains.

The lines have a single track with the following exception of a double track; Government Railways; Shinbashi to Yokohama 18 miles; Oyama to Numadzu 22 miles, Kōbe to Nishinomiya 11 miles; Nippon Railway: Tōkyō to Ōmiya $16\frac{3}{4}$ miles; Sanyo Railway $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, making a total of 69 miles of double track out of 1,984 miles. The work is in progress of doubling between Nishinomiya and Ōsaka, and most likely in a few years there will be many miles of double road.

* This station was formerly called Mihara.

Considering the matter of doubling the Tokaido Railway (Tōkyō-Kōbe) both from the Military and Commercial view, it should have been done so from the commencement. It joins the Military centres of Ōsaka, Ōtsu, Nagoya and Tōkyō: the Commercial centres Hiōgo, Ōsaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Hamamatsu, Shidzuoka, Yokohama, and other places with Tōkyō; this applies to Sendai and Takasaki with Tōkyō. The time may not be so far distant when the Military Authorities will require the Railways; if so, to move two to three thousand troops in twenty-four hours will cause the Railways used, to be virtually closed to the public, and to move a larger body of troops within a very short notice could hardly be done. This would not be so if there was a double track.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS; 557 MILES, 49 CHAINS.

	M. CH.
Shimbashi-Kobe Section... ..	376.31
Ofuna-Yokosuka Section	10.03
Obu-Taketoyo Section	12.01
Maibara-Kanegasaki Section	31.01
Baba-Otsu Section †	1.23
Fukutani-Nagahama Section †	9.60
Tokaido Line with Branches	440.39
Takasaki-Naoetsu Section	117.10
Total Miles	557.49

TOKAIDO LINE WITH BRANCHES, 440½ MILES.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0 00	Shimbashi		10.87
3.18	Shinagawa	3.18	10.32
5.76	Omori	2.58	12.62
10.08	Kawasaki	4.12	5.01
12.25	Tsurumi	2.17	13.78
16.25	Kanagawa	4.00	13.57
18.00	Yokohama	1.55	10.29
20.38	Hodogaya	2.38	24.14
26.04	Totsuka	5.46	48.66

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

TOKIADO LINE WITH BRANCHES, 440½ MILES.

Continued.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
29.44	Ofuna	3.40	37.11
32.31	Fujisawa	2.67	45.36
40.25	Hiratsuka.....	7.74	28.32
42.62	Oiso	2.37	60.32
48.74	Kodzu	6.12	66.32
55.20	Matsuda	6.26	202.32
58.65	Yamakita	3.45	360.92
64.27	Oyama	5.42	840.32
71.03	Gotemba	6.56	1498.62
80.38	Sano.....	9.35	409.62
86.32	Numadzu.....	5.74	29.12
95.73	Suzukawa	9.41	11.23
101.11	Iwabuchi	5.18	61.44
104.18	Kambara	3.07	30.64
110.18	Okitsu	6.00	26.24
113.46	Ejiri.....	3.28	16.84
120.21	Shidzuoka	6.55	59.24
128.24	Yaidzu	8.03	15.01
132.30	Fujiyeda	4.06	85.41
137.05	Shimada	4.55	195.19
140.34	Kanaya	3.29	309.60
146.08	Horinouchi	5.54	98.70
150.38	Kakegawa	4.30	92.59
155.71	Fukuroi	5.36	40.87
160.63	Nakaidzumi.....	4.69	17.72
167.56	Hamamatsu	6.73	18.32
174.09	Maisaka	6.33	9.21
179.67	Washidzu.....	15.58	10.32
190.33	Toyohashi	0.46	28.62
195.52	Goyu	5.19	27.22
201.04	Kamagōri.....	5.32	17.98
210.27	Okazaki	9.23	55.08
215.23	Anjō	4.76	63.73
220.20	Kariya	4.77	40.88
223.19	Ōbu	2.79	37.12
227.55	Ōdaka	4.36	16.47
231.14	Atsuta	3.39	9.12
235.29	Nagoya	4.15	10.82

TOKAIDO LINE, WITH BRANCHES, 440½ MILES.

Continued.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
239.68	Kiyosu.....	4.39	18.12
245.71	Ichinomiya	6.03	31.62
249.34	Kisogawa	3.43	33.12
254.16	Gifu	4.62	40.12
262.72	Ōgaki	8.56	28.12
267.75	Tarui	5.03	98.28
271.30	Sekigahara	3.35	401.77
	Top of Pass	0.00	781.62
277.58	Nagaoka	6.28	456.12
284.32	Maibara	6.54	291.62
288.09	Hikone.....	3.57	291.62
296.54	Notogawa.....	8.45	301.12
302.04	Hachiman	5.30	299.87
307.79	Yasu.....	5.75	323.64
312.54	Kusatsu	4.55	313.12
319.17	Baba (Ōtsu).....	6.43	328.12
321.09	Otani	1.72	497.12
324.36	Yamashina	3.27	95.46
327.37	Inari.....	3.01	106.85
329.20	Kioto	1.63	92.26
333.27	Mukōmachi	4.07	61.20
338.07	Yamazaki.....	4.60	65.11
342.64	Takatsuki	4.57	44.63
346.69	Ibaraki.....	4.05	54.12
351.20	Suita	4.31	26.40
356.04	Ōsaka	4.64	6.96
360.52	Kansaki	4.48	12.40
365.24	Nishinomiya	4.52	21.84
370.45	Sumiyoshi	5.21	83.97
375.28	Sannomiya	4.63	27.92
376.31	Kōbe	1.03	8.12

Starting from Shinbashi Station in Tōkyō, the Bay of Shinagawa is skirted and that of Kanagawa crossed by well-protected embankments and Yokohama is reached. This section was opened on the 12th of October 1872. It was at first a single line with wooden bridges and

culverts; but was doubled and the works reconstructed before the middle of 1880. The engineering difficulties were few and the heaviest gradient is 1 in 100 for about a mile. The bridge over the Rokugo river, consisting of six spans of 100 feet and twenty four spans of 44 feet; built in 1876-7 to replace the original timber bridge. There are numerous smaller bridges and culverts, all of a permanent character. Leaving Yokohama station the line proceeds westward, and, turning towards the left at Hodogaya, passes through the small mountain range that divides Musashi from Sagami and reaches Kodzu Station (48 miles 74 chains). At Kodzu it turns to the right and reaches Yamakita. The ground thus far is fairly level, and though there is some pretty stiff work in connection with the bridge over the Banyu river consisting of eighteen spans of 70 feet; and the Shimidzu-yato tunnel, 693 feet long, between Hodogaya and Totsuka, Stations; yet on the whole the natural features of the country presented few difficulties. From Yamakita, which is 361 feet above the sea level, to Gotemba, which is the highest point on this part of the road, being 1,499 feet above sea level, is a distance of 12 miles, 17 chains; in the distance of 15 miles, 29 chains to the town of Numadzu (which is 29 feet above sea level) shows a drop of 1,470 feet. It should be noted that the part from Yamakita to Numadzu, a distance of $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles, has the most important engineering work on the Tokaido, for some sharp gradients and curves are necessary; the ruling gradients for a length of 15 miles being 1 in 40. The 7 tunnels amount to 6,691 feet; and several bridges of spans of 100 feet, and 200 feet. The next distance of 14 miles is generally flat; the Fuji river is one of the largest streams on the route. The velocity is as much as 27 feet a second in time of flood.

After crossing the Fuji on a bridge of nine spans of 200 feet, the line passes Shidzuoka, crosses the Abe

river and touches the sea coast at Ishibe. The length of this stage is about 24 miles, over comparatively level ground, with this exception, however, that for 9 miles between Nakanogo and Okitsu the road has to wind round the bluffs, which at this point are the distinguishing characteristics of the sea coast. In two places tunnels, together 567 feet long, and the Okitsu, and the Abe rivers, are spanned by bridges of ten spans of 60 feet, and twenty four spans of 70 feet. From Ishibe the line passes through a hilly country, crossing the Seto river joining the Tōkaido road near Fujieda, and crossing the Ōi river near Shimada. Between Ishibe and Kamiyajo the line runs close to the sea, and as the coast is here very precipitous the work of construction was difficult, the cliff overhanging the road in some places, and in such spots it was found that stones fell on the road. Consequently the route was changed slightly and the Sekibe tunnel, 2,865 feet, was made at this point. Within a very short distance, the Isohama tunnel, 3,167 feet, is entered. From here, however, to the Ōi river the country is level. The bridge over the Ōi river has sixteen spans of 200 feet, and it is the second longest on the line. Extensive earthworks were constructed along the side of a hill, for a distance of three miles from the Ōi river to the Makino-hara tunnel, 3,273 feet, where the line ascends to the height of 277 feet above sea level. Between Kamiyajo and Mansui considerable excavation and filling up were necessary, but for 17 miles beyond the latter point to the Tenryu river the line is generally level. As it passes through rice fields, there is always danger of flooding. The Tenryu river bridge of nineteen spans of 200 feet is the longest railway bridge in Japan. Westward from here via Hamamatsu to Maizaka the country is generally low and damp, and farther on considerable embankment with three bridges, eight spans of 60 feet, nine spans of 60 feet, and twenty four spans of

60 feet, are necessary along the side of the Hamama Lake. There are extensive excavations at 6 miles from Arai to Uyenohara, but the ground is level for 8 miles beyond that point to Toyohashi. Thence the line passes through the valleys of Toyokawa, crosses the Toyo river on a bridge of eleven spans of 70 feet, pierces the Hoshikoshi mountain with a tunnel 990 feet long, and some three miles south of Gyoga, approaches the sea coast at one place and then turns inland towards Yahagigawa 20 miles from Toyokawa, crosses the Yahagi river on a bridge of fifteen spans of 70 feet, and proceeds by Mibori-mura, Kariya, etc., then to Ōfu after crossing the Sakae river. From here to Nagoya the line passes through a level country. The gradient between Nagoya and Ōgaki is comparatively level, but the following rivers, the Biwashima with nine spans of 70 feet; the Kiso with nine spans of 200 feet; the Nagara, with 5 spans, of 200 feet and four spans of 100 feet; and the Ibe with five spans of 200 feet had to be bridged besides numerous smaller bridges and culverts required for the irrigation of the Mino rice plain, increased considerably the expense of this section.

Ōgaki Station ($262\frac{3}{4}$ miles) is at the boundary of level and steep gradients. From here the line follows the Nakasendo to the top of the Sekigahara pass rising in 12 miles 753½ feet, and then descending 490 feet to Maibara on Lake Biwa. On this section there is about 8 miles of a gradient of 1 in 40. The gradient is fairly easy to Tarui. Here the line enters the hills and the gradient is heavy over the pass to Nagaoka Station with embankments and cuttings, the distance being 10 miles.

The line from Maibara to Baba is 35 miles, 60 chains, and was known as the Koto Section. It runs along the East shore of Lake Biwa. Passing through the Mushi-yama tunnel of 100 feet it reaches Hikone, after crossing the Takamiya river eighteen spans of 40 feet, and the Yechi

river on twenty spans of 60 feet, then through the Koshigoye tunnel 468 feet to Hachiman, from there the line crosses the Nibo river on twelve spans of 60 feet, then through a tunnel under the Yanomune river 170 feet, over the Yasu river on four spans of 100 feet and eighteen spans of 70 feet, to Kusatsu Station. Here there is a connection with the Kansai railway, which is a private company running to Yokkaichi on Owari Bay. From Kusatsu the line passes through a tunnel of 224 feet under the Kusatsu river, crosses the Seta river which runs out of Lake Biwa, on a bridge of nineteen spans of 70 feet and in a western direction to Baba Station.

From Baba Station there is a branch line of 1 mile 23 chains to Ōtsu. This was for many years a terminal station. There are extensive goods-sheds, several sidings and wharves, and appliances for loading and unloading vessels trading on the lake. A commodious harbour protected by a break-water was also constructed, resulting in a heavy trade on Lake Biwa. Two large steamers belonging to the railway ran daily between Ōtsu and Nagahama for many years. It was known at that time that when the railway was extended the line would branch off at Baba, so it was made from the commencement a depot for engines and rolling stock. Now this branch is used exclusively for goods traffic, which is still large, many steamers running to different places.

Leaving Baba the line ascends a gradient of 1 in 40 through Ōsakayama tunnel 2,181 feet to Ōtani about 2 miles, then descends a similar gradient of 3 miles to Yamashiro, and up another similar gradient for 2 miles, and along an easier gradient to Kyōto Station, distance 10 miles: on this section there are forty-eight bridges and culverts, but the only bridge of any magnitude is the one over the Kamo river near Kyōto, which consists of eight spans of 50 feet.

The country between Kyōto and Kōbe is fairly level and the expense is principally due to bridge work. The Katsura river is spanned with twelve spans of 100 ft; then the Upper Kansaki, and the Upper Juso rivers, with 13 spans of 100 feet, and five spans of 100 feet: after leaving Ōsaka the Lower Juso, and the Lower Kansaki rivers are crossed by nine spans of 70 feet and seventeen spans of 70 feet: as the line had to run into Ōsaka these two rivers are crossed twice. The last river of importance is the Muko, which is crossed by twelve spans of 70 feet. From here three rivers are tunnelled under—the Ashiya river tunnel 365 feet, the Sumiyoshi river tunnel 165 feet, the Ishiya river tunnel 200 feet. Then descending a bank of 1 in 100 the Kōbe terminal is reached, having completed 376 miles, 31 chains.

The railway Compound at Kōbe is a valuable and extensive plot of land, with a good water frontage on the west side of the harbour. There is a good passenger station with brick buildings. Into this Station and yard the Sanyo Railway have running powers. This is a private railway company starting from the Kōbe Station and going in a westerly direction to Mihara in the Okayama Ken, a distance of $143\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Shortly this line will reach Hiroshima. There is also provided a pier 450 feet long, and 40 feet broad, with three lines of rails, where sea-going ships of 20 feet draught can load and discharge cargo. Kōbe Station being the headquarters of the Western Section of the Government Railways, there are large offices for the Engineering, Locomotive, Traffic, and Stores Department; Godowns for storing material; Works for building and repairing Engines, Carriages, Wagons, and doing any other mechanical work required on the Railway, besides having an engine, carriage, and wagon depot, and general arrangement for coaling and watering the engines. The Shinbashi property in Tokyo is a valuable and large piece of land, bordered on

two sides with a canal, which is used by the boats bringing and taking away goods. Besides the goods shed, the station, and works for building and repairing engines, carriages, and wagons, there are the principal offices of the Government Railways, also the headquarters of the Eastern Section, the two being in many ways combined. Close by is the Teishinsho (Department of Communications) of which the Railway is a Bureau, and where the Director of Railways has his office and personal staff. A branch line of the Nippon Railway Company joins the line at Shinagawa, and has running powers from that station to Shinbashi Station, a distance of three and a quarter miles.

THE NUMBER AND SIZES OF THE IRON BRIDGES AND CULVERTS
ON THE TŌKAIDO RAILWAY AND ITS BRANCHES.

No. of Spans.	Length of Spans.	No. of Spans.	Length of Spans.
52	15 feet	136	40 feet
3	16 "	8	45 "
15	17 "	52	50 "
114	18 "	128	60 "
111	20 "	180	70 "
9	24 "	55	100 "
60	30 "	3	105 "
8	33 "	59	200 "
27	36 "		
399		621	

Total spans, 1,020, which if put together would measure about 61,492 feet=11.65 miles.

The weight of metal represented by these spans would amount to about 25,000 tons.

TABLE SHOWING THE COST OF DIFFERENT BRIDGES.

Miles from Tokyo.	Name of Bridge.	Spans.		Total Length.	Cost.		Remarks.
		No.	Length.		Total.	Per foot Run.	
9½ miles	Rokugo	(6 24	100 ft 40 "	1,650 ft.	yen. 434,906	yen. 263.58	The Rokugo has two lines on the bridge.
100 "	Fuji	9	200 "	1,874 "	282,360	150.67	
138 "	Ōi.....	16	200 "	3,339 "	409,216	122.56	
164 "	Tenriu..	19	200 "	3,967 "	507,055	127.82	
309 "	Yasu ..	(4 18	100 " 70 "	1,769 "	82,633	41.71	
121½ "	Abe	24	70 "	1,830 "	80,847	44.18	
39½ "	Banyu ..	18	70 "	1,368 "	77,682	56.79	
176 "	Hamana.	24	60 "	1,578 "	64,976	41.18	
257½ "	Nagara	(5 4	200 " 100 "	1,490 "	204,271	137.09	
251 "	Kiso....	9	200 "	1,874 "	302,286	161.31	

The total length of the tunnels, 34,592— 6 miles, 970 yards, 2 feet.

TABLE OF THE COSTS OF THE LONGEST TUNNELS.

Miles from Tokyo.	Name of Tunnel.	Total Length.	Cost.		Remarks.
			Total.	per Foot run.	
59½ miles	Hakone No. 2	1,893 feet	yen. 115,573	yen. 61.09	
60 "	do. No. 3	1,042 "	61,472	60.03	
125 "	Sekibe	2,856 "	131,411	45.87	
126 "	Isohama	3,167 "	210,873	66.58	
140½ "	Makinohara ..	3,273 "	213,617	65.27	
320½ "	Osaka-yama	2,181 "	203,264	93.20	
33½ "	Nagoye	1,130 "	34,809	30.80	Yokosuka
36 "	Numama ..	1,319 "	41,795	31.69	"
305 "	Yanagase-yama	4,435 "	425,499	95.94	Maibara-Tsuruga

There are 38 tunnels on the Tokaido Trunk Line.

THE YOKOSUKA BRANCH:—10 MILES 3 CHAINS.

Mileage from Ofuna.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.			FEET.
0.00	Ofuna	M. CH.	37.11
2.78	Kamakura	2.78	30.32
5.31	Dzushi	2.33	19.92
10.03	Yokosuka	4.52	15.32

This line branches from the Tōkaido Railway at Ōfuna 29½ miles from Tōkyō. Thence it proceeds south-eastward to Kamakura, passing through the Ōgigayatsu tunnel 502 feet, piercing then the hills at Nagoye with a tunnel 1,130 feet long, it reaches Dzushi Station, then passes through six tunnels, namely, Numama 1,319 feet; Taura 311 feet; Shichikama 317 feet; Nagaura 604 feet; Tanoura 615 feet; Yoshikura 519 feet; and thus reaches Yokosuka. Although the total distance does not exceed but a little over 10 miles, yet owing to the rugged nature of the ground 8 tunnels are necessary, of the total length of 5,317 feet. The cuttings extend to about 44,000 tsubo; while the embankments are about 37,000 tsubo. Retaining walls for the prevention of landslips were built to the extent of about 1,009 tsubo, and the number of bridges erected was 8, but all are small. The construction was begun January, 1888, and was completed July, 1889, at a cost of Yen 41,372 per mile, making the total cost Yen 413,720.

One principal reason for this line was the Naval dockyard and station at Yokosuka, with a torpedo school at Nagaura. It is a little peculiar having the line to Yokosuka that arrangements have not been made to carry

the rails into the dockyard, or that there is no station at Nagaura for the convenience of those travelling, as several officials must go forth and back daily. The traffic has proved very satisfactory, and the sea-side villages must have benefited greatly.

THE OBU TAKETOYO BRANCH :—12 MILES.

Mileage from Obu.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Obu		37.12
6.29	Kamezaki	6.29	65.12
9.04	Handa	2.55	14.72
12.54	Taketoyo	3.50	13.12

This line leaves the Tokaido Railway at Obu, which is $223\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tōkyō. The country through which the line runs is mostly level and there are no engineering difficulties. On approaching Handa the line is near the sea coast. As the line was made for the convenience of bringing material for the construction of the then intended Nakasendo Railway, it was found that Handa was not suitable on account of the depth of water. The line was run $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles towards the end of the promontory to Taketoyo, where a wharf was made so as to be able to unload from the barges at all states of the tide; there are 12 bridges having 22 spans of different sizes, none of the bridges of any importance.

It is questionable if this line will pay even the working expenses.

THE MAIBARA-KANEGASAKI BRANCH, 31 MILES; ALSO THE
FUKATANI NAGAHAMA SECTION, 9 MILES, 60 CHAINS.

Mileage from Maibara.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Maibara		291.62
4.50	Nagahama	4.50	288.17
11.25	Takatsuki.....	6.55	353.46
12.18	Inokuchi	0.73	366.28
13.71	Kinomoto	1.53	377.96
16.62	Nakanogo.....	2.71	475.27
19.55	Yanagase	2.73	678.99
	Top of Tunnel		813.49
26.14	Hikida	6.39	227.44
30.23	Tsuruga	4.09	8.69
31.01	Kanagasaki	0.58	8.69

This branch is better known as the Maibara-Tsuruga, as Kanegasaki Station is on the water-side and is similar to what Otsu is to Baba Station; namely at this terminal station, there are extensive goods-sheds, several sidings and wharves, and appliances for loading and unloading vessels, also a commodious harbour protected by a breakwater to shelter the smaller vessels, the large steamers coming into the Tsuruga Bay having to anchor outside. Tsuruga itself is exposed to the seas coming into the bay during the more trying months of the year; and at one time it was under serious consideration to extend the line round the west side of the bay to the natural harbour of Kutsunoura, a distance of about 3 miles. This fine harbour is much frequented by large junks, especially in winter. There

is good holding ground, and full protection from the north and west winds, to which Tsuruga itself is exposed.

The line takes a northerly direction from Maibara, crosses the Amano river, runs along the shore of Biwa Lake and joins the older line (Nagahama-Tsuruga) at Nagahama. This town was mostly made when it was the terminal station, and had a large trade passing through from the steamers and other vessels on the lake. There was also a small shop for repairing engines, carriages, and wagons, and doing other work required by the engineers working on Construction. Since through communication this shop has been dismantled, and the importance of the town has decreased.

Leaving Nagahama the Ane and Tonoto rivers are crossed, and until approaching Yanagase station the gradients are not steep; from here to the top of the pass, which is $813\frac{1}{2}$ feet above sea level, the gradient is 1 in 45 for a little over one mile. The Yanagase tunnel, 4,435 feet, is the chief work of importance, and it is the longest railway tunnel in Japan and was four years in course of construction; the gradient in the tunnel is 1 in 40; and from the top of the pass to Hikida Station, over 5 miles, the ruling gradient is 1 in 40, and passing through the Kotone, 187 feet, the Tone, 648 feet, and the Sosogi tunnels, 180 feet. The embankments, the cuttings and the retaining walls are heavy.

The line from Nagahama to Fukatani, 9 miles 60 chains, is now used only as a Goods Line. The works call for no particular mention. The original line ran from Nagahama to Tsuruga, and Nagahama via Fukatani to Ogaki, and this section was opened to the public on the 25th May, 1884, as soon as the line was made from Fukatani to Maibara, and from Maibara to Nagahama this piece was closed, and since then as the goods traffic is heavy over the Sekigahara incline it has been re-opened for that purpose.

THE TAKASAKI-NAOETSU SECTION: 117 MILES.

Mileage from Naoetsu.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each- Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Naoetsu		8.00
4.24	Takata	4.24	40.66
10.45	Arai	6.21	198.31
18.21	Sekiyama	7.56	1087.44
22.54	Taguchi	4.33	1674.08
28.01	Kashwabara	5.27	2204.00
34.23	Mure.....	6.22	1598.23
39.13	Toyono.....	4.70	1097.63
46.01	Nagano.....	6.68	1182.85
51.51	Shinonoi	5.50	1168.07
54.71	Yashiro	3.20	1183.96
60.67	Sakaki	5.76	1294.04
67.22	Uyeda	6.35	1462.31
72.50	Tanaka.....	5.28	1678.95
78.35	Komoro	5.65	2176.65
84.10	Miyota	5.55	2707.55
88.00	.....	0.00	3234.84
92.10	Karusawa	8.00	3080.31

This line will be divided into three Sections—the Naoetsu-Karusawa, the Yokogawa-Takasaki, and the Karusawa-Yokogawa:

THE NAOETSU-KARUISAWA SECTION: 92 MILES.

This line starts from the south of the town of Naoetsu in Echigo, and proceeds to Arai, passing Takata, and

crossing the Yashiro river. The distance between these two places is $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and as the country is level the operations were easy. From Arai the railway crosses the rivers of Shibutani and Katakai and travels along the banks of the Seki and the Aka river to Kashiwabara. The distance between Arai and Kashiwabara is 18 miles, and for the most part over hilly ground, as an illustration of which, it may be mentioned that the Kashiwabara station is at a height of 2,204 feet above the sea level. For a distance of about 14 miles the line has a gradient of one in forty; and at Otagiri the work is specially heavy. From Kashiwabara the line proceeds to Furuma, where it crosses the highway and runs for some distance along the bank of the Torii river, and passing through a narrow ravine, touches the village of Mure, and reaches Toyono Station. The section is a little over 11 miles in length, for $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles of which the country is so steep as to require a gradient of one in forty. Toyono Station stands at an elevation above the level of the sea of 1098 feet and is the lowest part of the line south of Sekiyama. The next stage, a length of 28 miles, passing Nagano to Uyeda, is over ground for the most part level, and the work presents few difficulties; the chief undertakings being the spanning of the Sai and Chikuma rivers with bridges consisting of 1 span 200 feet, 3 spans 100 feet, and 8 spans of 40 feet total length 862 feet; and 3 spans of 100 feet, and 9 spans of 40 feet total length 694 feet. From Uyeda the route passes along the bank of the Chikuma river, intersecting the old castle ground at the town of Komuro and crossing the Nakasendo at Miyoda Station; then it follows this road to Karuizawa, a distance of 8 miles. For a distance of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles between Uyeda and Tanaka the land is flat, but to the south, for some 15 miles the line rises, as it passes close to Asamayama, and attains a height of 3,244 feet above the sea. The entire length of the railway to new Karuizawa is 92 miles 10 chains.

Of this distance a gradient greater than one in a hundred is required for 47 miles, of which over 27 miles has a gradient of one in forty. There are several places where a curve of 15 chains radius is required.

The surveying of this line was begun in May, 1885, and completed May, 1886. In August, 1886, the Naoetsu-Sekiyama Section, $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles, was opened for traffic. From Sekiyama to Toyono Station, $20\frac{3}{4}$ miles, has by far the greater proportion of heavy construction. At one point, the embankment being 120 feet high, the material dealt with in the short distance of one mile and 67 chains represented an extent of 175,000 tsubo; besides there are three short tunnels representing 1,094 feet. From Komuro to 88 miles the work presents difficulties in consequence of the height of the embankments crossing some of the valleys. The extent of earthwork rendered necessary on the line is in the aggregate 757,600 tsubo, of which 479,200 tsubo represent embankment and 278,400 tsubo excavation.

Application has been made for permission to construct a line from Naoetsu to Niigata, and some engineers employed on the Naoetsu line were detailed to make preliminary surveys. The surveys are completed, and plans and sections of the road prepared. The calculated length of the line is about 75 miles. Since this was done other routes to Niigata have been proposed, and the line is in abeyance.

The section north of Kashiwabara traverses a region where the snow fall is especially heavy. On this section, yearly, the traffic is entirely stopped, some times during several weeks. Snow falls frequently from the beginning of January to the middle of March, and at times the depth is over 10 feet. On the 15th February, 1893, there were 3,700 people employed clearing the snow away; on the 27th February 3,100 people; and the 7th March 3,200 people.

NOTE :—Ono tsubo=8 cubic yards.

YOKOGAWA-TAKASAKI SECTION: 18 MILES.

Mileage from Takasaki.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Takasaki		306.61
1.38	Iidzuka	1.38	318.16
6.44	Annaka	5.06	440.11
10.73	Isobe	4.29	686.88
14.64	Matsuida	3.71	975.33
18.00	Yokogawa	3.16	1263.20

This line leaves Takasaki Station on the Tōkyō Mayebashi Section of the Japan Railway Company 63 miles from Tōkyō, and stops short before reaching the point where serious difficulties occur, though it rises over a thousand feet in its own length, having in one place nearly three miles of a gradient of one in forty. As however the line follows the general contour of the country, the works are with few exceptions unimportant. The Kara-n river and the Usui river are spanned with 8 spans of 50 feet: and 10 spans of 40 feet.

YOKOGAWA-KARUISAWA SECTION: 7 MILES.

The question of making the connection between Yokogawa, 1,263 feet, and Karuisawa, 3,080 feet above sea level, has been the cause of much thought and consideration to the railway engineers. Minute surveys over the Usui-toge (pass), an extremely rough portion of the Nakasendo highway, had been made in past years. They resulted in proving that to lay an ordinary railway over the pass would, in the first place, require a large expenditure, and when completed on gradients of one in forty, and with sharp curves, it would be about 17 miles long. At about this time two young engineers returned

after 1½ year's trip to America and Europe, sent to study railway construction, and they were greatly taken with the Abt track railway system for passing over rough country. And from this and other circumstances the adoption of the Abt system for this district was decided upon, and fresh surveys of three different routes under this system were begun in April, 1890; they are:

FIRST: THE WAMI ROUTE: This the most southern of the three routes leaves the Karuisawa plain by the Wami pass, and proceeds on its downward course by the hamlets of Onga, Akahama, and Arai, and enters Yokogawa Station. The distance is 7 miles 50 chains, of which 2 miles 64 chains are on a gradient of 1 in 40, and 4 miles 67 chains incline of 1 in 15. Tunnels are 17 in number, with an aggregate length of 183½ chains: or 2 miles 23½ chains.

SECOND: THE IRI-YAMA ROUTE.—This is the central route. It emerges from the Karuisawa plain by Mount Manatcho, and skirting around Mount Inamuro proceeds on to Akahama, and thence to Yokogawa with 1 in 40 gradient. Its length would be 7 miles 36 chains, of which 2 miles 64½ chains are on a gradient of 1 in 40 and 4 miles 51½ chains on 1 in 15. The tunnels would be 21 in number, with an aggregate length of 154 chains or 1 mile 74 chains.

THIRD: THE NAKAO ROUTE:—This is the most northerly route. It begins at the Karuisawa Station and follows the new road (Nakasendo) in the Nakao Valley and joins via Sakamoto the existing railway at Yokogawa. Its length is 6 miles 77½ chains, of which 2 miles 28 chains are on an incline of 1 in 40, and 4 miles 49½ chains on 1 in 15. Tunnels 26 in number with an aggregate length of 221 chains 88 links, or 2 miles 61¾ chains.

When the results of the preliminary surveys of these alternative lines were compared, it was seen that the Wami line, though encumbered by one long tunnel of over

60 chains, had the smallest number of them; that the Iriyama line was hampered by numerous curves; and that the Nakao line by following the main road in close proximity, had an ample means of supplying material. A second survey of the Wami, and the Nakao line, the results of which proving satisfactory to the Nakao line, it was finally adopted in February 1891.

The line was commenced in March 1891. It being laid out over a wild district, has necessitated engineering works of no ordinary nature, rocky hills having to be cut away and ravines filled up, extremely steep gradients introduced, as many as twenty six different places within this short distance having had to be pierced by tunnels. Thanks to the fact of the line being located along the public roadway, and the latter having thereby afforded ample means of transportation and distribution by means of the horse tramway, no dearth in the supply of material has been experienced at the places where the works were being carried on.

The experience gained from the practical illustrations of the effects of earthquake phenomena on bridgework during the great earthquake of the Owari and Mino provinces, being availed of, some alteration of the designs for the brick arches and piers of the bridges on this railway was necessitated. The principal bridge is over the Usui river; it has four spans of 60 feet, built on brick arches, and it is 110 feet above the ground; there are 2,200,000 bricks in this structure.

The construction of this line was begun in March 1891, and opened for traffic on the 1st April, 1893. It was therefore completed in 25 months. The principal works connected with this line were:—Earthworks, cuttings, embankments, deviation of roads, etc. etc., 89,404 tsubo; tunnels 26 in number, with an aggregate length of 14,644

feet; bridges 18, with an aggregate length of 1471 feet; culverts 20; rails laid for the main line and the sidings 8 miles 44 chains; a passing station at Kuma-no-taira, which is half way up the gradient; and other buildings 651 tsubo.

Without going into the advisability of an alteration in the general construction of the railway, and whether it is wise, or otherwise, to adopt a new system from the financial, and military point of view, the Engineer in Charge, and his Assistants are to be congratulated in the way the Works are constructed, of which any country might be proud.

ROLLING STOCK:—The first stock was manufactured in England for the Tōkyō-Yokohama, and the Kōbe-Ōsaka section. For the Tōkyō-Yokohama section it consisted of 10 Tank Engines, 10 first class, and 40 second class carriages, with 8 brake vans, and a number of open and closed goods-wagons.

The rolling stock on the Tokaido Line and Branches (March, 1893), 115 engines, 582 carriages, and 1,535 wagons; total 2,231. On the Takasaki-Naoetsu Line, 19 engines, 48 carriages, and 218 wagons, total, 285; making the grand total 134 engines, 630 carriages, and 1,753 wagons.

Engines, with the exception of six, were ordered from England as required, and wheels and axles and buffers for other stock are also imported; with the exception of 60 bogie carriages ordered on account of the Tokaido Line being opened sooner than contemplated, all carriages and wagons for the Government Line and for the Nippon Railway Company, the Kōbu Railway Company, and the Ryōmo Railway were built at the Shinbashi or Kobe Shops. A few carriages and wagons for the Takasaki Naoetsu Line were built at the small shops at Nagano.

LOCOMOTIVES :—134 engines :—These are divided into six classes :—

A ; Small side-tank Engines.

B ; Side-tank Engines for the Main Line.

C ; Passenger Tender Engines for the Main Line.

D ; Large Tender Engines for heavy gradients.

E ; Large Tank Engines for heavy gradients.

F ; Large Tank Engines for the Abt' System.

THERE ARE 25 LOCOMOTIVES of the A CLASS, having cylinders either 12 inches diameter by 17 inches stroke, or 13 inches diameter by 20 inches stroke. The 6 wheels coupled engines are used for the construction work, and the 4 wheels coupled for working short lines, and for shunting purposes.

CLASS B INCLUDES 33 engines of the same type, having 14 inches diameter of cylinders, 20 inches stroke, 4 wheels coupled being 4 feet 4 inches diameter, a small pair of wheels under the leading and the trailing end having F. W. Webb's Patent Radial Axle-box so as to allow the engine to run around sharp curves easily ; and side tanks to carry 1,000 gallons of water ; these are well adapted for working the traffic on the main line and weigh in working order 34 tons. The load between Tōkyō and Yokohama, is a maximum of 25 carriages, or 40 wagons.

CLASS C INCLUDES 36 locomotives having tenders ; the cylinders vary in sizes between 14 inches, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter of cylinders, 22 inches stroke, 4 wheels coupled 4 feet 6 inches diameter, and a bogie under the front end. These are a most satisfactory type for passenger or mixed trains having long runs.

THERE ARE 6 ENGINES OF CLASS D having tenders ; the cylinders 16 inches and 18 inches in diameter, 6 wheels coupled, a Bissel truck in front, and known as the Mogul type. These are intended to work where gradients of 1 in 40 prevail, and are in every way a suitable engine.

CLASS E INCLUDES 30 Tank engines, with cylinders of 15 inches, and 16 inches in diameter; 6 wheels coupled 4 feet in diameter; these are for working gradients of 1 in 40.

THERE ARE 4 TANK ENGINES of Class F; of a special design with 4 cylinders, to work on the Abt System of Rack Railway on the Usui Pass.

The engines in the first five classes were built by the following firms: Beyer, Peacock and Co.; Dubs and Co.; Sharp, Stewart and Co.; Nasywith, Wilson and Co.; Kitson and Co.; Neilson and Co.; Vulcan Foundry; Avonside Works; Yorkshire Engine Works; Manning, Wardle and Co.; and two engines by Baldwin and Co.: The 4 engines for the rack railway by the Maschinenfabrik Esslingen.

The main line engines are adapted to make from 25 to 30 miles an hour, and if the line through the stations was constructed for through running, and devoid of curves on approaching the facing points, a speed of 35 miles per hour could be maintained without any difficulty.

The coal used is well adapted for locomotive purposes, being very free from injurious gases, and though rather smoky it makes but little ash, and keeps steam well. It comes either from Karatsu Colliery in the island of Kiushiu, or from Horonai in Hokkaido; in either case it is transported by sea 600 miles to Yokohama.

The water used is pure, except in the flood season when it contains a certain amount of earthy matter, and then the engines require to be washed out more frequently; otherwise there are no injurious qualities to corrode the boilers.

The English engines have outside cylinders, with the Joy, or link valve motion: wrought iron wheels with steel tyres: best Yorkshire iron for the boiler barrels, domes, fire-box shells, and smoke box tube-plates: copper fire-boxes and brass tubes: and frames of best Yorkshire iron, or mild steel, each in one plate.

The locomotive stock at the end of March, 1893, was below the requirements of the Railway, and since then orders have been forwarded abroad for thirty engines, besides buying three engines of class B from the Ryomo Railway. The engines ordered are, 6 of the B class; 6 of the C class only having the cylinders 16 inches in diameter; 16 of the D class, 4 from America with cylinders 18 inches in diameter; 12 from England with cylinder 17 inches in diameter; and 2 of F class for the Rack Railway over the Usui pass. When these engines arrive, and are in working order the Government Railways should be able to draw whatever traffic may be loaded into carriages or wagons.

The advisability and economy of building locomotives in Japan has at times during the last few years been brought before the notice of the Railway Department. In 1892 sanction was granted to make a trial at Kobe, and in April, 1893, the first locomotive was turned out of the Railway Works at Kobe. The engine was designed by Mr. R. F. Trevithick, the Locomotive Superintendent of the Western Section. It is different to any engine on the line, being what is known as a Compound Engine; and at that time there was not a compound engine in Japan. The boiler, water tanks, wrought iron wheels, the motion, the cylinders, valves and other parts were made at the Works: the frame plates and a few other parts came in a rough state from abroad. The engine has given every satisfaction, cheapness in construction, lowness in consumption of coal and water, goodness of hauling capacity, and steadiness when running. The success of this first trial should oblige the Government to build their own locomotives for the sake of economy.

It may not be out of place to tell the following story. In 1803 Richard Trevithick was building at Pen-y-dar-ran in South Wales a tramway locomotive, to run on rails not exceeding a gradient of 1 in 50, and of considerable

length. In February, 1804, this engine had run several trips a distance of $9\frac{3}{4}$ miles, drawing five wagons carrying 10 tons of iron and at times 70 men riding; at another trial the engine pulled 25 tons of iron, and a bet of £500 that it would not pull a load of 10 tons of iron this distance was won by the engine, which weighed 5 tons, and had one cylinder $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. This is considered to be the first locomotive in the world. In 1893 Richard Trevithick, a grandson, has had the opportunity of designing and superintending the building of the first locomotive in Japan. It weighs nearly 40 tons, has all the latest improvements, and is running between Kōbe and Kyōto.

It is a peculiar incident that in two islands so far apart as England and Japan, and with a space of 90 years between, the Christian and surname of the two men who have the credit of building and designing the first locomotive in each country should be the same, the man in Japan being the grandson.

History repeats itself, as Richard Trevithick senior was branded with folly and madness by the late James Watt for bringing into use the high pressure engine, and even not known to the general public as the builder and inventor of the first locomotive; so will Richard Trevithick of Kōbe never be known in Japan by the Japanese as the designer and builder of the first locomotive, the credit being already given to a Japanese who has very little mechanical knowledge.

CARRIAGES :—630 Vehicles :—The American type was first adopted on the Tōkyō-Yokohama line, with end platforms and central passage; the inside width is 6 feet 8 inches, and the seats are 1 foot 10 inches wide. The first class are divided into three compartments, each holding six persons, by sliding doors; but the second have no division and are differently upholstered, being in all other respects similar to the first; these carriages are still running.

It had not been expected at first that the lower classes would use the trains, but railway travelling quickly became so popular that 26 of the second class carriages had to be somewhat altered to accommodate third class traffic. Now, however, as these carriages require rebuilding a different type is adopted. The sole-bars of all these carriages are 22 feet long, of girder iron $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick; weighing $23\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per foot. Other carriages of the English type were imported of a smaller size with wood sole-bars 18 feet long; these were sent to Kōbe and ran between Kōbe and Kyōtō. Some of these carriages are running on the branch lines at the present time.

Another type was introduced, the carriage being supported on two bogie trucks with the standard wheels 2 feet 9 inches diameter; each bogie has a wheel base of 5 feet. The under-frames being trussed for the sake of stiffness between the bogies. The length of carriage over the buffer beams, 46 feet 6 inches.

There are two standard types of carriages, the one on two pairs of wheels, the sole-bars 23 feet long, and built either first, second, or third class as required; the framing is uniform, all the work being marked off from one template. The other carriage on two bogie trucks, the sole-bars being 46 feet 6 inches long. The weight of the smaller carriage empty, $6\frac{1}{2}$ tons; the weight of the large carriage empty, $14\frac{1}{2}$ tons.

WAGONS: 1,753 Wagons: There are two distinct classes of wagons. The wagons having the underframe all iron and arranged to carry 10 tons. The other wagons having iron sole-bars 17 feet 6 inches long of the same section as used for carriages, the underframe of wood, and to carry 6 tons.

In each class there are several descriptions of these in use, viz: Covered goods, the same adapted to carry 6 horses; the ordinary open wagon with sides 2 feet high, of three planks; the mineral wagons, sides four planks

high; the ballast wagons, the rail trucks; timber trucks; and brake vans.

The underframing of each class is the same, and marked off from a template, although the body may be different. The buffers are Brown's Patent of wrought iron with cast iron cases. The brake-blocks are of cast iron, and one block to each wheel. At one end of the wagon is a screw-coupling; at the other end a chain coupling.

The timber used in both underframes and body framework of carriages and wagons is Keyaki (the Japanese elm), a very fine timber, sometimes to be seen in planks 4 or 5 feet wide, hard and strong, dark brown in colour, with a beautiful grain resembling teak; it takes a good polish and stands damp well, but is liable to warp when exposed to the sun. As Keyaki is getting costly and scarce teak at times is used. Floors, sides, and roofs are of Hinoki, a valuable building timber resembling red pine. Of late cheaper kinds of wood are being used for wagons. Kuri (chestnut) is chiefly used, on account of its low price, for sleepers. Japan is on the whole well provided with timber, but it cannot be considered cheap.

The average weight of an empty wagon to carry 10 tons, Covered Goods, 5 tons 8 cwt.; Open wagon 5 tons. A wagon to carry 6 tons, Covered Goods, $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons; Open Wagons 4 Tons.

The rolling stock is in general well suited to the capabilities of the gauge; and the capacity of the wagon stock quite up to that used on the 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches gauge.

WORKSHOPS:—There are workshops at Shinbashi, Kōbe, and Nagano; the latter are small and only for the Takasaki-Naoetsu Line.

Considering the workshops at Shinbashi and at Kōbe have been built without any fixed plan, and enlarged only when the requirements obliged it; and the designs or ideas of those most competent to know, in many cases either not being asked, or if asked not properly carried out, taking all these

considerations into account the shops are fairly well provided with good machinery, and arranged fairly satisfactorily.

The shops at each place are of similar size. Regular employment could be given to about 2,000 men, not including the Running Department. All carriages and wagons can be built; and repairs executed to engines, carriages and wagons; besides the required work for the Engineering and Construction Department.

The shops under the efficient control of managers and foreman and with a proper system could build 120 carriages and 480 wagons a year. At a small expense for machinery and a new shop, there would then be the appliances for building 10 engines yearly; so that the Government is in the position to build all the engines and rolling stock required to supply their wants. This is satisfactory, as only one-third of the money required for the increase of the rolling stock would leave the country for foreign material; one-third for material bought in the country; and one-third in wages, thereby supplying work and food for a number of the people.

My experience may allow me to define what makes an efficient manager or foreman. A man who has had a good education and has spent some years in the Works actually working with the men, so as to be thoroughly acquainted with good or bad work, to be able quickly to watch that the men do a fair day's work, to give instruction direct to the men, and the men to have confidence in their manager with reference to his knowledge, his fairness in dealing with them, and his being able to appreciate the good workmen. Men who have passed through a University, and those who are good clerks and can make satisfactory returns on the principle of figures, but have never worked with the workman, have no idea of the actual routine of a shop, nor are able to appreciate the man at his proper worth; although to their faces the workman is civil and polite, as soon as their

back is turned the men have the greatest contempt for such masters and take every advantage, thereby increasing greatly the expense, and turning out inferior work. It is very similar to expect good soldiers to fight under officers who only have learnt warfare by reading books and hearing lectures.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

The railway fund granted by the Government from the first establishment of Railways, March, 1870, up to the close of the year ending March, 1893, amounted to Yen 37,554,474. The average cost per mile at the close of March, 1893, was Yen 60,667.

In the following table the average cost per mile, at the close of the year, of the different sections of the lines in operation is compared and given :—

	Miles	Average Cost per mile, yen.
Total length of open lines	551	60,667
Details.		
1. Tokyo-Yokohama Section (Double line, construction begun April, 1870, completed September, 1872.)	18	163,457
2. Kobe-Otsu Section (1 mile double ; construction begun November, 1870, completed September, 1879.)	58	137,993
3. Tsuruga-Ogaki Section (Construction begun May, 1880, com- pleted July, 1884.)	49	71,563
4. Takasaki-Naoetsu Section (Usui toge excepted ; construction begun October, 1884, completed December, 1888.)	110	34,749
5. Yokohama-Ogaki Section (22 miles double line ; construction begun 1885, completed April, 1889.)	258	50,802

6. Ofuna-Yokosuka Section... ..	10	41,372
(Construction begun January, 1888, completed July, 1889.)		
7. Otsu-Nagahama Section... ..	48	34,008
(Construction begun February, 1888, completed July, 1889.)		
Double line between Oyama and Numazu ...	22	15,617
(being a portion of the Yokohama-Ogaki Section; construction begun February, 1890, completed March, 1891.)		

In the following table the amount of the Gross and Fixed Railway Capital at the close of each fiscal year from the 19th is compared with the mileages of lines in operation, and the average cost per mile in respect of the aggregate and fixed capitals is given :—

Fiscal Years.	Amount of Ag- gregate Capital at the close of fiscal year.		Amount of fixed Capital at close of fiscal year.		Percentage of Fixed Capital to Aggregate Cap- ital.	Miles in opera- tion.	Per One Mile of open lines.	
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.			Y n	Y n.
Before 19th	17,885,844	14,971,665	83.7	143	125,076	104,697		
19th	21,134,852	17,279,952	81.8	209	101,124	82,679		
20th	26,284,852	22,447,623	85.4	245	107,285	91,623		
21st	33,391,027	28,032,343	85.7	446	74,868	64,198		
22nd	34,447,633	31,618,348	91.8	551	62,518	57,384		
23rd	34,971,702	32,745,091	93.6	551	63,470	59,430		
24th	36,583,118	33,068,184	90.4	551	66,394	60,015		
25th	37,554,475	33,427,735	89.0	551	68,157	60,667		

The proportional decrease of the amount of the Fixed Capital as compared with the amount of the Gross Capital, and the increase of the amount per mile of the Gross Capital at the close of the year under review, noticeable in the above table, are due to the fact that expenditures of over yen 1,990,000 on the Usui-toge line construction works, though included in the adjusted accounts, have been excluded from the columns of Fixed Capital, because of the line not being yet opened to traffic, and therefore earning no revenue.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Total Length of line open at the end of each year, Passengers and Goods conveyed, Receipts, Working Expenses and Profit as shown yearly.

Fiscal Year.				Length of Line	Number of Passengers.
5th	Meiji	5th Oct. to	31st Dec. 1872	18	495,078
6th	"	Dec. to	Dec. 1873	18	1,415,225
7th	"	" "	" 1874	38	2,093,560
Jan		1875 to	June 1875	38 ^a	1,481,761
8th	Fiscal	July 1875	June 1875	38	2,756,482
9th	"	1876 "	1877	65	2,933,260
10th	"	1877 "	1878	"	3,096,707
11th	"	1878 "	1879	"	3,423,904
12th	"	1879 "	1880	73	4,337,422
13th	"	1880 "	1881	76	5,332,318
14th	"	1881 "	1882	101	5,758,734
15th	"	1882 "	1883	115	6,003,902
16th	"	1883 "	1884	124	5,161,206
17th	"	1884 "	1885	"	4,099,260
18th	"	1885 March	1886	163 ^b	2,636,784
19th		April 1886	" 1887	205	3,761,473
20th	"	1887 "	1888	245	5,919,383
21st	"	1888 "	1889	446	8,404,776
22nd	"	1889 "	1890	542	11,365,937
23rd	"	1890 "	1891	551	11,265,383
24th	"	1891 "	1892	551	11,789,913
25th	"	1892 "	1893	551	12,873,547
Total Expenditure Yen 35,418,997					116,404,015

^a Six months
^b Nine months, Alteration of the Financial year.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Quantity of Goods.	Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Profit.
Ton.	Yen. ^c	Yen. ^c	Yen. ^c
457	74,936	113,464	61,466
2,351	441,615	232,830	208,785
17,701	592,671	346,803	245,868
13,603	358,360	207,463	150,897
58,182	644,495	403,823	240,672
59,340	1,284,466	434,001	850,465
84,887	910,336	526,248	384,088
100,231	1,011,739	555,117	456,622
163,216	1,243,531	512,674	750,857
192,920	1,555,797	608,224	947,573
225,177	1,713,980	677,587	1,136,393
230,855	1,840,394	926,548	913,846
241,243	1,564,910	631,132	932,778
314,180	1,362,686	612,148	751,538
188,373	896,111	442,221	453,890
373,838	1,301,119	622,993	678,124
485,470	1,698,873	677,124	1,021,749
616,913	2,313,811	967,585	1,346,226
544,517	3,771,630	1,663,417	2,108,213
671,561	4,213,804	2,001,273	2,212,331
806,511	4,110,141	2,426,900	1,683,241
982,404	4,580,632	2,166,199	2,414,433
6,373,931	37,595,995	17,775,775	19,820,220

^c The Japanese yen during 1872 and 1893 has fluctuated between 4s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

Detail Tables for the year ending March, 1893, will be found as an appendix at the end of the paper.

PRIVATE RAILWAY LINES.

THE NIPPON RAILWAY COMPANY: MILES 591.61 M. CH.

					M. CH.
Ueno-Aomori	Section	...	...	...	454.66
Shinagawa-Akabane	"	...	...	...	12.76
Omiya-Maebashi	"	...	...	...	51.14
Utsunomiya-Nikko	"	...	...	...	25.00
Iwakiri-Shiogama	"	...	...	...	4.23
Ueno-Akihanohara	"	...	...	...	1.15
Oyama-Mito	"	...	...	...	41.45
Mito-Nakagawa	"	...	...	...	.62=591.61

To compare the cost of construction, and to report on the line, the Sections must be taken as follows:—

SECTION.	MILFS.	COST PER MILE.	TOTAL.
First Section	81	Yen 35,836	Yen 2,902,685
Second "	97	" 23,380	" 2,267,861
Third "	110	" 22,849	" 2,513,356
Fourth "	107	" 35,926	" 3,844,113
Fifth "	127	" 42,774	" 5,432,260
Nikko Line	25	" 16,062	" 401,546
Mito "	43	" 18,991	" 816,611
	590		Yen 18,178,432
Materials in Stores &c			" 646,562
Money spent by the Government			Yen 18,824,994

* For Goods Traffic only.

From 1st April, 1892, the Nippon Railway Company took over all responsibilities from the Government with reference to Construction, Maintenance, and Working.

The capital of the Nippon Railway Company is Yen 20,000,000; the average cost per mile Yen 33,500.

NIPPON RAILWAY CO.

UYENO (TŌKYŌ) AWOMORI SECTION.

Mileage from Uyeno.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Uyeno		14.51
3.73	Ōji	3.73	20.02
6.14	Akabane	2.21	22.01
12.66	Urawa	6.52	52.06
16.53	Ōmiya	3.67	43.65
22.17	Hasuda	5.44	42.51
28.15	Kuki	5.78	31.76
33.36	Kurihashi	5.21	41.41
37.77	Koga	4.41	62.76
47.72	Oyama	9.75	123.27
57.02	Ishibashi	9.10	220.86
65.66	Utsunomiya	8.64	364.19
72.24	Furuta	6.38	524.69
76.55	Nagakubo	4.31	581.27
83.60	Yaita	7.05	647.57
89.79	Nishinasuno	6.19	792.07
97.07	Kuroiso	7.08	959.97
102.40	Kurodawara	5.33	1092.93
107.39	Toyohara	4.79	1130.19
	Top of Pass	0.00	1329.44
113.51	Shirakawa	6.12	1161.37
122.76	Yabuki	9.25	948.72
130.08	Sakagawa	7.12	791.29
137.23	Kōriyama	7.15	745.02
145.79	Motomiya	8.56	692.40
151.78	Nishinomatsuri	5.79	664.13
157.53	Matsukawa	5.55	622.97

UYENO (TOKYO) AOMORI SECTION.

Continued.

Mileage from Uyeno.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
165.75	Fukushima	8.22	240.01
174.15	Kōri	8.20	337.98
182.06	Kosugo	7.71	466.10
187.14	Shiroishi	5.08	159.35
195.29	Okawara	8.15	63.20
200.12	Tsukinoki	4.63	30.59
204.16	Iwanuma	4.04	16.86
208.54	Masuda	4.38	29.63
215.12	Sendai	6.38	117.41
220.11	Iwakiri	4.79	35.51
230.01	Matsushima	9.70	27.00
242.21	Kogoda	12.20	37.00
249.56	Semine	7.35	30.00
259.18	Ishikoshi	9.42	33.50
264.15	Hanaizumi	4.77	95.00
271.69	Ichinoseki	7.54	83.80
281.04	Mayesawa	9.15	91.86
287.34	Midzusawa	6.30	171.81
298.14	Kurosawajiri	10.60	195.81
305.76	Hanamaki	7.62	292.81
316.30	Hidzume	10.34	330.81
327.74	Morioka	11.44	407.17
340.71	Koma	12.77	677.83
347.44	Numakunai	6.53	818.22
355.19	Nakayama	7.55	1406.33
	Top of hill (Inside Tunnel)	0.00	1489.62
364.66	Kojiya	9.47	589.27
371.30	Fukuoka	6.44	366.95
382.74	Sannohe	11.44	117.94
395.49	Shiraiuchi	12.55	29.32
402.40	Shimoda	6.71	28.62
415.18	Numazaki	12.58	11.05
428.24	Noheji	13.06	61.28
438.76	Kominato	10.52	12.78
445.20	Asamushi	6.24	11.48
454.66	Aomori	9.46	7.00

SHINAGAWA-AKABANE SECTION.

Mileage from Shinagawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Shinagawa		10.32
2.30	Meguro	2.36	67.76
4.06	Shibuya	1.56	50.60
6.44	Shinjiku	2.30	121.14
8.49	Mejiro	2.05	77.62
10.40	Itabashi	1.71	85.71
12.76	Akabane	2.36	22.01

OMIYA-MAEBASHI SECTION.

Mileage from Ōmiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōmiya		43.65
5.02	Ageo.....	5.02	54.15
7.23	Okegawa	2.21	67.65
12.33	Kōnosu	5.10	74.65
16.76	Fukiage	4.43	58.29
21.27	Kumagaya	4.31	86.42
28.35	Fukaya	7.08	127.84
34.47	Honjo	6.12	183.11
39.67	Shimmachi	5.20	210.55
46.27	Takasaki	6.40	306.61
52.36	Maebashi	6.09	337.74

UTSUNOMIYA-NIKKO SECTION.

Mileage from Utsunomiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Utsunomiya		364.19
3.48	Togami	3.48	352.97
8.68	Kanuma	5.20	536.93
13.66	Fubasami.....	4.78	783.11
20.79	Imaichi	7.13	1295.22
25.00	Nikko	4.01	1739.48

IWAKIRI-SHIOGAMA SECTION.

Mileage from Iwakiri.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Iwakiri.....		35.51
4.23	Shiogama.....	4.23	6.95

OYAMA-MITO SECTION.

Mileage from Oyama.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Oyama		123.27
4.19	Yûki.....	4.19	123.97
6.49	Kawashima	2.30	115.55
10.20	Shimodate	3.51	102.27
18.42	Iwase	8.22	171.07
23.14	Fukuhara.....	4.52	195.71
27.04	Kasama	3.70	135.14
30.25	Shishido	3.21	109.03
34.26	Uchihara	4.01	119.65
41.45	Mito.....	7.19	27.63

FIRST SECTION:—Uyeno-Mayebashi and the Branch Line Shinagawa-Akabane:—81 miles.

This line, the first constructed for the Japan Railway Company, traverses the wide and fertile plain lying between Tōkyō and the mountains to the north and west, and watered by the river Tone, the longest in Japan. It was commenced in 1882, and the first 38 miles from Tōkyō were opened, with temporary bridging at the rivers, on the 28th July, 1883; the remainder to Takasaki on the 1st May, 1884 (63 miles); and the extension to Mayebashi on the following 20th August. The bridges have since been made permanent structures, with masonry foundations and iron girders. The principal rivers are as follows:—

River Ara; Four spans	of	...	...	100 feet.	}
Forty seven	"	"	...	50	" }
" Shido; Five	"	"	...	40	"
" Nimari; Seven	"	"	...	40	"
" Kana; Thirty	"	"	...	40	"
" Karasu; Six	"	"	...	100	" }
Seven	"	"	...	20	" }

There are no engineering difficulties other than the river crossings, and the heaviest gradient is 1 in 100; the difference of level between the Uyeno terminus (Tōkyō) and Maebashi is 323.23 feet.

The population of the district being agricultural there are many large villages, with the exception of Takasaki, a garrison town, the junction for the Government Railway Takasaki-Naoetsu, and a tram-road to Shibukawa; and Mayebashi, the seat of provincial government (Gamma Prefecture), and the terminus of the Ryomo Railway, both of which have over 10,000 inhabitants; and Urawa, the seat of provincial government of the Saitama Prefecture.

SHINAGAWA-AKABANE: 13 MILES.

This necessary link passes round the western outskirts of Tōkyō. At Shinjiku Station the Kōbu Railway

branches off to Hachioji. The line has not very much local traffic; it is however indispensable for transfer between the interior and the coast lines, also a quantity of construction material being transported for works in progress. There are no remarkable works on this line, which was opened on the 1st March, 1885.

The station at Akabane junction is a little over 6 miles from Uyeno Station (Tōkyō), where there are military barracks.

SECOND SECTION: OMIYA-SHIRAKAWA: 97 MILES.

This line branches off at Omiya Station on the Maebashi line, 17 miles from Tōkyō, and striking the great north road (the Oshiu-Kaido) at Kuribashi on the Tone river, 17 miles from Omiya, follows the course of the road from that point. The first portion, to Utsunomiya, 49 miles, was opened on the 16th July, 1885, and the remainder in December, 1886.

The country traversed is nearly level to Utsunomiya, but between that place and Kuroiso the rise is considerable, the last named place being 945½ feet above Uyeno Station (Tōkyō).

The principal bridges are as follows:

River	Tone	.....	Three spans of 200 feet	on brick well
			Nine	" " 100 " foundations
"	Kusa	... ..	Four	" " 50 " "
"	Ara	.....	Ten	" " 40 " "
"	Uti	.....	Four	" " 40 " "
"	Kinu (West).		Four	" " 100 " "
			Eight	" " 50 " "
"	Kinu (East).		Ten	" " 100 " "
			Eight	" " 50 " "
"	Heki	.....	Thirteen	" " 70 " "
"	Sabi	.. ..	Two	" " 40 " "

The district traversed is less fertile and populated than the more western part of the plain near Takasaki. At 67 miles from Oniya there is a short tunnel.

Kuroiso Station, 97 miles from Tōkyō, is at the boundary of the level and steep gradients. Starting from Kuroiso the country is hilly and the gradients in places 1 in 40, with sharp curves, when Shirakawa is reached, 113½ miles from Tōkyō. The highest point on this piece, 1329½ feet above the level of the sea, constitutes the highest elevation on the line between Tōkyō and Sendai. The Station is within the grounds of the old castle, noted for the part it played during the war of the Restoration.

The principal Stations are Koga, Oyama a junction having two lines, one to Mito, the other the Ryomo Railway to Maibashi: and Utsunomiya, the seat of the provincial government of the Tochigi Prefecture, also the junction for Nikko, and with a population of over 30,000 inhabitants.

THIRD SECTION : SHIRAKAWA-SENDAI AND SHIOGAMA : 110 miles. From Shirakawa the line follows the valley of the Abu-kuma river to Iwanuma, a distance of 90½ miles, and thence passes to Sendai through a level country. From Sendai to the port of Shiohama, 9¼ miles, the route lies through rice-fields and over one or two small rivers. Between Shirakawa and Koriyama there is a slightly falling gradient, and from thence to Okawara (195½ from Tōkyō) the country is hilly, necessitating gradients of 1 in 40 both ways. In places this grade is continuous for two and three miles. As however the line follows the general contour of the country, the cuttings and fillings are, with a few exceptions, unimportant. Indeed considering the hilly nature of the district, much credit is due to the engineers who surveyed the line, that nearly the whole way through this country the route of the main road (Oshiu-Kaido) has been followed. Considering the country, costly work has been avoided. The principal tunnel, of 20 chains, is between Matsukawa

and Fukushima. The heaviest works between Matsukawa Station and Shiroishi Station, a distance of $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles. In addition to these there are 12 bridges over the Abu Kuma river and its branches, and two bridges over the Natori. The first portion, Kuroiso-Shirakawa and Koriyama, was opened 20th July, 1887; and to Sendai and Shiogama, ($22\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tōkyō), on the 15th December, 1887. There are 20 Stations, the principal ones being Fukushima, the seat of the provincial government of the Fukushima Prefecture; and Sendai, the seat of the provincial government of the Miyagi Prefecture, with a population of over 66,000 inhabitants, and a military centre.

In the Fukushima Prefecture there have been two eruptions since the line has been opened, although in neither case has the railway suffered. The eruption of Bandai-san (6,000 feet) on the morning of July 15th, 1888, at 7.45 a.m., in which one of the peaks, Ko-Bandaisan, was destroyed, and a mighty avalanche of earth and rock rushed at terrific speed down the mountain slopes and devastated an area of more than 27 square miles; the total number of lives lost was 461. Four hamlets were completely buried under the disrupted matter, and seven villages were partially destroyed. No such disaster had happened in Japan since the famous eruption of Asamayama in 1873, which is close to the Naoetsu-Takasaki Government Line. Bandaisan is about 25 miles West of Koriyama and Motomiya Station. The second eruption was Azumayama (6,365 feet) on the 28th May, 1893. This mountain is West of Fukushima about 10 miles. Being in the centre of the hills only a few lives were lost.

FOURTH SECTION: SENDAI-MORIOKA; 107 miles. The railway passes through a fertile stretch of country, mostly rice fields. At Matsu-shima station, the well known village, and celebrated spot on the shores of the Bay of Sendai, can be visited. A greater part of the distance to Ichinoseki the line runs to the east of the main road; and with the

exception of crossing a few rivers and two tunnels there is nothing of importance. From here the line strikes the valley of the Kitakami river which it follows up past Morioka. Just before reaching Maetzawa Station (281 miles), the Koromo river is crossed, a river celebrated as the scene of the battle that ended Yoshitsune's career. From Kurosawa-jiri Station small steamers can descend the Kitakami river. At Hanamaki Station a road goes to Kama-ishi on the east coast, where the Government tried unsuccessfully to start large Work's to procure iron. Morioka is the only important town, being the seat of the provincial government of Iwate Prefecture. It is 407 feet above the sea level, and at times during the winter it is very cold. The railway has erected a small repairing shop for engines, carriages and wagons. The line was opened from Sendai to Ishinosaki on the 23rd April, 1890, and to Morioka on the 23rd November of the same year.

FIFTH SECTION:—MORIOKA-AOMORI:—127 miles:—The line leaving Morioka is on a rising gradient for $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles over a grassy tract of land, being in parts brought under cultivation; from here it gradually descends, and crosses for the first time the Kitakami river, having run for 60 miles along the left bank. Hence on a rising gradient to the top of the pass near Nakayama Station, 1,490 feet above the sea level; passing through two short tunnels the line descends down a deep valley, through which flows the Mabechi river. In this valley the line runs for 40 miles to Shiri-uchi Station. This section presented the most difficulties to the engineers; the Mabechi river is crossed twelve times, some of the bridges being very high, and the embankments and cuttings heavy, besides eight tunnels. From Shiri-uchi to Aomori over a grassy tract of country not having any very important works, at Shiri-uchi, a branch has been made to Minato, a distance of 5 miles, 13 chains.

This Section traverses a district where the snow fall is heavy. Yearly the traffic is stopped, some times during several days; the worse part is between Shiri-uchi and Kominato. There are 13 stations, but as the country is only partly cultivated the villages are unimportant. Aomori is the only important town, being a port where there is constant steam communication between Aomori and Hakodate, 70 miles distant; it is also the capital of the Aomori Prefecture, also having barracks which belong to the Sendai Military District.

NIKKO LINE:—25 miles:—The line branches off at Utsunomiya Station $65\frac{3}{4}$ miles (from Tōkyō), and for a considerable distance runs close to the grand avenue of cryptomerias lining the ancient highway. On approaching Inaichi Station is another road from Tochigi. From here to Nikko Station there are heavy gradients. The rise from Utsunomiya to Nikko is 1,475 feet; Nikko being $1,739\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the sea level. Otherwise the works do not call for any particular mention. The traffic on this line is very satisfactory to the shareholders.

MITO LINE: 43 miles: The Mito Railway Company having come to an arrangement with the Nippon Railway Company, made an application for permission to sell their line to the latter Company. The permission was granted in June, 1891; and on the 1st March, 1892, the railway, with all other properties attached to it, was made over to the Nippon Company.

The line runs east from Oyama Junction 48 miles from Tōkyō, and passes through an almost level country, crossing the Ta, the Kinu, the Gojo and the Kōkai river; Mito is the capital of the Ibaraki Prefecture, is about 7 miles from the sea, and situated on the Naka river. The line was opened on the 16th January, 1889.

The following table gives the number of iron bridges of 20 feet spans and longer. There are many iron bridges of between 12 feet and 20 feet.

Number of Spans.	Length of Spans.	Number of Span.	Length of Spans.	Remarks.
	ft. in.		ft. in.	
62	20.0	121	60.0	686 spans
82	30.0	89	70.0	
154	40.0	47	100.0	
128	50.0	3	200.0	
426		260		

ROLLING STOCK: 69 engines, 248 carriages, and 1,022 wagons: was the stock on the 31st March, 1893; and is in every way similar in design to the Government Stock. Orders have been sent for 48 new engines, of which 24 have arrived, besides 112 carriages, and 250 wagons. Many of these vehicles are now working and when all are running the Nippon Railway Company should be well provided to meet all requirements.

Nearly all the carriages and wagons have been built at the Shinbashi or the Kobe Government Works. A few carriages and wagons were bought from the Sanyo Railway Company.

KOBU RAILWAY CO.

Mileage from Shinjuku.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Shinjuku		121.14
2.64	Nakano	2.64	128.07
5.21	Ogikubo	2.57	152.48
9.46	Sakai	4.25	199.53
13.10	Kokubunji	3.44	224.84
16.74	Tachikawa	3.64	270.73
19.00	Hino.....	2.06	281.08
22.77	Hachioji	3.77	347.84

KOBU RAILWAY:—This railway was sanctioned on March 31st, 1888, with a capital of Yen 900,000. It starts from Shinjuku Station on the Nippon Railway, runs through a flat country with a heavy clayey soil, crosses the Tama river $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles and arrives at Hachioji, distance of 23 miles. The line was opened to the public on the 18th August, 1889.

The Kobu Railway was worked by the officials of the Nippon Railway Company. This arrangement did not give satisfaction, so the railway received sanction in October, 1891, to separate itself, and began from the 1st November of the same year to control the affairs of its railway independently.

Shinjuku Station was not a satisfactory terminus, so the Company was granted a charter 13th July, 1889, to extend the line from Shinjuku to Misaki-cho, a distance of $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles. This line is under construction, and when completed the terminus station will be a great improvement for both passengers and goods traffic.

Having completed the lines in operation which run from Tōkyō, it may be well to mention the lines under construction or proposed.

The Sobu Railway Company received its charter 21st February, 1893. It starts from Honjo (Tōkyō) to Sakura in Chiba Ken, and is a distance of 31 miles and is under construction.

The Nippon Railway Company have applied, although the charter is not as yet granted, to run a line from Tōkyō direct to Mito and along the north-east coast road to Iwanuma, where it would join the Company's line to Sendai.

RYOMO RAILWAY: 52 MILES, 17 CHAINS.

Mileage from Oyama.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Oyama	0.00	123.27
6.60	Tochigi	6.60	138.34
12.02	Iwafune	5.22	100.63
16.46	Sano	4.44	111.34
23.62	Ashikaga	7.16	110.80
29.34	Omata	5.52	235.31
32.74	Kiriu	3.40	360.37
35.32	Ōmama	2.38	446.82
39.30	Kunisada	3.78	316.69
43.00	Isezaki.....	3.50	214.86
46.48	Komagata	3.48	253.50
50.75	Maebashi	4.27	337.74

This railway, branching off from the Nippon Railway Company at Oyama Station, traverses the provinces of Kotsuke and Shimotsuke in a westerly direction and joins the Nippon Railway Company at Maebashi. The Works are unimportant; there are a few small rivers to cross which are at times subject to floods. The scenery is pretty all along the route, and the principal industry is rearing silk-worms and manufacturing silk-goods.

There are eleven stations on the line, although none of the towns are very large. At Sano, $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles, there runs a horse tram-way from Kuzuo to Koshinagawa, a distance of 9 miles and 50 chains, at which place there are limestone quarries. This private Company have now two small German Engines, weighing about $8\frac{1}{2}$ tons each, to take the place of the horses. The cost of the railway, yen 1,297,964 or about yen 25,450 per mile.

This line had 5 very suitable engines, but those in authority considered the American type more suitable, so the Government bought three, and the Nippon Railway Company two engines; this left the Ryomo Railway free to buy 5 American engines; and it is to be hoped that the Ryomo Railway shareholders are satisfied with the experiment financially; and also in the future with the consumption of Coal and Oil used by the American Engines as compared with the consumption during the years the traffic was worked with the English Engines.

The principal bridge is over the Tone river of Maebashi, two spans of 200 feet and two spans of 100 feet. This bridge and $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles of line is beyond Maebashi Station.

HOKKAIDO RAILWAY, 204 MILES, 71 CHAINS.

M. CH.

Temiya-Horonai	Section	...	...	...	...	56.02
Horonaifuto-Ikushunbetsu	"	...	...	...	...	4.39
Muroran-Utashinai	"	...	...	...	...	114.39

					M. CH.
Sunagawa-Sorachifuto	"	...	...	...	2.68
Oiwake-Yubari	"	...	...	...	26.49
Sanbashi-Temiya †	"	...	...	...	34
Miles					204.71

TEMIYA-HORONAI SECTION.

Mileage from Temiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Temiya.....	0.00	7.20
2.11	Sumiyoshi	2.11	43.33
5.33	Asari	3.22	13.00
10.69	Zenibako	5.36	12.00
15.52	Karugawa	4.63	37.00
19.71	Kotoni	4.19	47.00
22.25	Sapporo	2.34	56.00
33.35	Nopporo	11.10	78.00
35.41	Ebetsu.....	2.06	35.00
41.18	Horomui	5.57	34.00
47.20	Iwamizawa	6.02	72.00
54.26	Horonaifuto	7.06	133.00
56.52	Horonai	2.26	295.00

† Goods line only.

HORONAI-FUTO-IKUSHUMBETSU SECTION.

Mileage from Horonai-futo.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Horonai-futo	0.00	133.00
4.39	Ikushumbetsu	4.39	257.83

IWAMIZAWA-SORACHIFUTO SECTION.

Mileage from Iwamizawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Iwamizawa	0.00	72.00
5.14	Minenobu	5.14	83.40
10.20	Bibai	5.06	89.50
16.77	Naiye	6.57	95.40
22.06	Sunagawa	5.09	86.70
24.75	Sorachifuto	2.69	

SUNAGAWA-UTASHINAI SECTION.

Mileage from Sunagawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Sunagawa	0.00	86.70
8.64	Utashinai.....	8.64	413.00

IWAMIZAWA-MURORAN SECTION.

Mileage from Iwamizawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	
0.00	Iwamizawa		
14.18	Yuin	14.18	
23.76	Oiwake	9.58	
46.04	Tomakomai	22.08	
59.38	Shiraoi	13.34	
71.25	Noboribetsu.....	11.67	
75.51	Horobetsu	4.26	
83.47	Muroran	7.76	

OIWAKE-YUBARI SECTION.

Mileage from Oiwake	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	
0.00	Oiwake.		
15.13	Momijiyama	15.13	
26 49	Yubari	11.36	

This line is known as the Tanko Railway Company : and was constructed by American engineers and mechanics, on the lightest and cheapest American system, with rails 30 lbs. to the yard, these were of English

manufacture, but the rolling stock and machinery all supplied from America. The line has been much improved since its opening, in November, 1880, to Sapporo, in June, 1882, to Iebetsu, and Horonai in May, 1883, and Utashinai to Morosan, and Oiwake to Yubari, in 1892. The line has been relaid with rails 45 lbs. to the yard.

The line starts from a wooden pier 1,440 feet long, having a depth of water of 21 feet at the end where ships can load and discharge along side. At the shore-end are the workshops, goods and carriage sheds, and a station for Temiya. The line traverses the main-street for three-quarters of a mile and then passes inland at the back of the town of Otaru, with gradients of 1 in 83 and a tunnel 556 feet long, to a station at Sumiyoshi (2 miles), and then crossing a dry valley on trestlework averaging 24 feet in height, descends 1 in 85 to the main road at 3 miles, whence to 11 miles (Zenibako Station) the road is utilised as formation of the railway with the exception of a few deviations to obtain easier curves. From this point to Sapporo (22 miles) swampy ground is crossed on a low embankment, and then the base of the hills bounding the Ishikari valley is followed: beyond Sapporo (the seat of government of the Hokkaido): the line crosses the river Toyohira by a bridge of two spans of 150 and 50 feet. The super-structure is said to have been manufactured in England for the Philadelphia Bridge Company, and intended for the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, but it was purchased in America for this railway. The principal span, weighing 70 tons, was carried away within a few days of its erection in place, by an unprecedentedly severe snow-flood, in April, 1882, which attained a height of seven feet and seven inches above the highest previously observed floodmark. A large quantity of drift-wood was brought down and lodged under the bridge, and although the embankment on either side was destroyed for a length of half-a-mile, the force of the stream and the buoyancy of the accumulated

timber lifted the girders off the pier, and they sank about 200 feet away. They were recovered when the waters subsided, and the piers having been raised, the superstructure was re-erected, only slight repairs being necessary, and satisfactorily tested in December of the same year.

Beyond the Toyohira, high ground is followed, to avoid risk by flood, and with only one trestle bridge over a dry valley, 45 feet deep, and 270 feet long, the line reaches Iebetsu (35 miles), after crossing the Chitose and Horonai rivers, and passing over a stretch of flat prairie land the Tonebetsu river is crossed and the line turns eastward to Horonai-futo ($54\frac{1}{4}$ miles), and by a tunnel reaches the valley leading to the Horonai coal mines at $56\frac{1}{2}$ miles. At Horonai-futo a branch line runs to the Ikushumbetsu coal mines, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles; at Iwanizawa, $47\frac{1}{4}$ miles, a branch line runs to Sunagawa 22 miles and to the Sorachi-futo coal mines at 25 miles. At Sunagawa a line branches to the Utashinai coal mines a distance of $8\frac{3}{4}$ miles. These mines all belong to the same Coal-field, but the lines run up different valleys.

At Iwanizawa there is a line to the port of Muroran situated on the east of Volcano Bay. The line runs south through a well wooded country on easy gradients and reaches the coast near Toma Konai; from this point it follows the coast to Muroran. At Oiwake a line runs to the Yubari coal mines a distance of $26\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Muroran is a well sheltered harbour, and being on the southern coast is more suitable for the shipment of coal: on the other hand the haulage by train is longer than to the port of Otaru. Coal mines, railway, and ports for its shipment are all very well, but there is one point quite as important, and that is, where is the consumer, and this is the most troublesome point with reference to the coal industry in the Hokkaido.

The rolling stock with exception of two Ballast Engines purchased from the Sanyo Railway Company, is

entirely on the American pattern. The Locomotives are of the Mogul type, the Carriages and Wagons are each supported on two bogie trucks with chilled cast iron wheels 24 inches in diameter. Each bogie has a wheel base of 4 feet, and the underframes are trussed for the sake of stiffness between the bogies.

The Rolling Stock consists of 24 engines, 40 carriages, and 576 wagons total, 640.

LOCOMOTIVES:—May be divided into three classes. A class includes 8 engines having tenders, the cylinders 12 inches in diameter; 16 inches stroke; six wheels coupled 3 feet in diameter, and a small bisel truck in front. B class includes 12 engines having tenders, the cylinders 14 inches in diameter; 18 inches stroke, wheels 3 feet 4 inches in diameter. The weight of the smaller engine 16 tons, the tender 12 tons, total 28 tons. The larger engine 26 tons, the tender 14 tons, total 40 tons.

C class takes in the remaining engines.

CARRIAGES:—Are either 40 feet, or 35 feet over the buffer planks; all are 8 feet wide over the outside; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class accommodation is provided, and have seating for 46 persons in the larger, and 42 in the smaller carriages. The weight of an empty carriage $10\frac{1}{2}$ tons.

WAGONS:—Consist of 520 platform cars, with sides and ends made up of two planks $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet high, and kept in position by pieces of wood fitting in iron sockets, the length over the buffer beams 27 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the width 8 feet, and when empty 4 tons, and the freight 8 tons. There are 56 covered goods wagons. The stock has the appearance of being lightly built, and from the large capacity of the covered goods wagons affords great facility for over-loading. The open wagons appear suitable for coal traffic.

The Railway Workshops at Temiya are not very satisfactory buildings, being placed in a corner under a

cliff, also being dark and dirty. There is a fair number of iron and timber machines, of American design, and manufacture, but light in construction.

The line is laid with 45 lbs. (per yard) steel rails, on wood sleepers placed 2 feet apart, and the road-bed is well ballasted.

KUSHIRO RAILWAY:—25 MILES, 78 CHAINS.

This line starts from Shibecha, which is $14\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Kushiro, the port for shipping sulphur. Shibecha is on the river Kushiro. There is a convict settlement and a steam factory for refining sulphur, the railway 26 miles long, connects with Atosanobori, where there is a sulphur mountain, (Iwô-san), and brings the sulphur to the steam factory at Shibecha; from here it goes down the river in boats to Kushiro. Passengers could get a lift, although the Kushiro Railway Company was only granted a charter for public traffic from the 1st September, 1892. The rolling stock consists of 2 engines, 3 carriages, and 19 wagons.

KWANSAI RAILWAY CO:—59 MILES, 5 CHAINS.

KUSATSU-YOKKAICHI SECTION.

Mileage from Kusatsu	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kusatsu		313.12
5.42	Ishibe	5.42	394.52
9.72	Mikuno	4.30	484.52
14.60	Fukawa	4.68	572.67
22.55	Kamitsuye	7.75	832.43
31.48	Seki	8.73	273.08
35.07	Kaneyama	3.39	179.15
40.57	Takamiya	5.50	74.71
44.78	Kawarada	4.21	26.85
49.25	Yokkaichi	4.27	8.19

KAMEYAMA-TSU SECTION.

Mileage from Kameyama	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kameyama		179.15
3.37	Shimonoshō	3.37	143.50
7.42	Isshmden	4.05	21.92
9.60	Tsu	2.18	15.58

A charter was granted on the 1st March, 1888, to make a line with a capital of yen 3,000,000 from Yokkaichi to Kusatsu, with a branch from Kameyama to Tsu, and Yokkaichi to Kuwana, a distance of $67\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the line to be completed in 6 years.

The line starts from Kusatsu Station on the Tōkyō-Kobe Railway, $312\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Tōkyō. Kusatsu is the junction of the Tokaidō, and Nakasendō, and the line follows the Tokaidō all the way to Yokkaichi, and on to Kuwana.

After leaving Kusatsu the line runs through granite sand-hills and then up the valley of the Yokoto river to Fukawa. From here the line becomes steeper over the Suzuka-toge, and following the valley of the Suzuka river reaches Seki. The gradient over part of this Section is 1 in 40. From Seki to Yokkaichi there is nothing of importance. At Kameyama Station, 35 miles from Kusatsu, a line branches to Tsu, a distance of $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The line between Yokkaichi and Kuwana, $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles, will shortly be opened; and charters have been granted for an extension of the line from Kuwana to Nagoya, a distance of $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with a capital of yen 1,960,000. When this extension is completed the line will again

have a junction with the Tōkyō-Kobe line at Nagoya Station. The expense of this section will be the bridge over the Kiso and other rivers emptying themselves into the Owari Bay. The other charter is Tsuge to Nara, a distance of $31\frac{3}{4}$ miles, with a capital of yen 1,540,000. If these two lines are completed they may be the cause of diverting the present traffic over the Tōkyō-Kobe line. By referring to the map it will be noticed that the distance from Nagoya to Kusatsu will be slightly shorter; and the same from Nagoya via the Kansei and the Osaka Companies by way of Nara to Osaka. The proposed bridge at the head of the Owari Bay will have at least 30 spans of 200 feet each. It is expected the foundations for the piers will be costly, and troublesome.

The rolling stock : 10 engines, 68 carriages, and 77 wagons.

SANGU RAILWAY :—23 MILES, 58 CHAINS.

Mileage from Miyagawa.	Name of Stations	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0 00	Miyagawa	0.00	
2.46	Tamaru	2.46	
4.27	Aika	6.73	
4.73	Matsusaka	11.66	
3.33	Rokken	15.19	
3.47	Takachaya	18.66	
2.42	Akogi	21.28	
2.30	Tsu	23.58	

This railway was opened to the public in February, 1894. It starts from Tsu in the province of Ise, which is the terminus of the branch line from Kameyama of the Kansei Railway, and it will no doubt have a heavy traffic in pilgrims going and returning from the celebrated Ise Temples. The Rolling Stock: 3 engines, 40 carriages and 24 wagons.

OSAKA RAILWAY:—32 MILES, 55 CHAINS.

Mileage from Minatomachi.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Minatomachi		8.24
2.23	Tennōji	2.23	34.84
4.56	Hirano	2.33	20.09
7.29	Yao	2.53	38.11
10.10	Kashihara	2.61	70.01
16.02	Ōji	5.72	129.62
20.07	Shimoda	4.05	169.57
23.11	Takata	3.04	199.97

OJI-NARA SECTION.

Mileage from Oji	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōji		129.62
2.19	Hōriuji.....	2.19	147.76
6.44	Kōriyama.....	4.25	179.90
9.44	Nara.....	3.00	230.40

MINATOMACHI-TAKATA SECTION.

Leaving Minatomachi Station, situated in the south end of Osaka, it passes along a wide cultivated plain on an embankment towards the mountains of Yamato. The scenery is picturesque between Kashiwabara and Oji, and also on to Takata. At Oji station a line branches off to Nara, famous for its temples and Daibutsu.

A charter has been granted to extend the line from Takata to Sakurai, a distance of about $10\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The Rolling Stock consists of 7 engines, 54 carriages, and 109 wagons; this is being increased by some engines from America.

HANKAI RAILWAY:—6 MILES, 13 CHAINS.

Mileage from Namba.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Namba		9.60
2.11	Tengachaya	2.11	9.60
3.86	Sumiyoshi	1.25	9.60
6.13	Sakai	2.57	5.80

When the Government decided to discontinue the Iron Works at Kamaishi in Iwate Ken, the Hankai Railway Company bought the rails, the engines, and other material belonging to the railway used for bringing the iron-stone and charcoal from the hills to the furnaces at Kamaishi.

The line has a 2 feet 9 inches gauge and starts from Namba Station, Osaka, running close to the main road to Sakai. This line is more of a steam tramway than a proper railway. There are 5 engines, 22 carriages and 54 wagons.

SANYO RAILWAY:—189 $\frac{3}{4}$ MILES.

KOBE-ONOMICHI SECTION.

Mileage from Kobe.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kobe		8.12
1.11	Hiego	1.11	11.12
4.46	Suna	3.35	13.62
8.12	Maiko	3.46	22.92
11.76	Akashi	3.64	10.62
15.72	Okubo	3.76	63.78
20.01	Tsuchiyama	4.09	69.96
24.17	Kakogawa	4.16	17.12
28.73	Anida	4.56	9.62
34.11	Himeji	5.18	35.12
40.37	Aboshi	6.26	21.57
44.11	Tatsuno	3.54	36.12
46.76	Naba	2.65	40.62
51.50	Une	4.54	63.62
63.54	Mitsuishi	12.04	316.02
68.02	Yoshinaga	4.28	126.52
71.28	Wake	3.26	69.52
79.43	Seto	8.15	29.02
84.48	Nagaoka	5.05	8.81
89.09	Okayama	4.41	9.02
93.16	Niwase	4.07	6.52
99.03	Kurashiki	5.67	12.52
104.63	Tamashima	5.60	2.52
110.68	Kamogata	6.05	38.52
116.42	Kasaoka	5.54	8.92
125.32	Fukuyama	8.70	7.52
131.66	Matsunaga	6.34	5.52
137.54	Onomichi	5.68	9.52

MIHARA-HIROSHIMA SECTION.

Mileage from Kobe.	Name of Stations Mi- hara-Hiroshima.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
143.40	Matsuhama		
145.01	Mihara	1.41	8.34
151.22	Hongō	6.21	25.02
158.74	Kōchi	7.52	323 28
164.32	Shiraichi	5.38	579.12
170.13	Saijō	5.61	722.02
180.26	Shimoseno	10.13	173.00
185.66	Kaidaichi	5.40	11.52
189.62	Hiroshima	3.76	5.02
	Miles.	46.22	

This railway was licensed in January, 1888, with a capital of yen 1,300,000, from Kobe via Okayama to Hiroshima and Shimonoseki, a distance of about 302 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Leaving the Kobe Station of the Government Railway it has a double road to Hiogo Station, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles; here the company has its head office; general shunting yard; works for repairing engines, carriages, and wagons; a depôt for engines, and rolling stock generally; and arrangements for coaling and watering the engines. A branch line 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles, for goods traffic only, runs to Wadanomisaki, where there are several sidings, and appliances for loading and unloading cargo from vessels anchored in the Hiogo Bay.

The Kobe-Onomichi Section runs through a flat country, the gradient nowhere exceeding 1 in 100. It skirts

the sea shore nearly all the way with the exception of passing through a low spur of the hills by a tunnel called Funesaka, $3732\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, at $61\frac{3}{4}$ miles; from Une, 52 miles, to Yoshinaga, 68 miles, has the heaviest earth work, and the line at Mitsunishi is 316 feet above the sea level. There are two other tunnels, one called Kanagasaki, $1,648\frac{1}{2}$ feet at $116\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and the other under the Minato river $180\frac{1}{2}$ feet at $17\frac{1}{2}$ chains. There are 43 bridges over the different rivers, besides flood openings and culverts. None of the rivers are of great size but they are subject to heavy floods, as this district of Japan is unfortunate in the number of rain storms which pass over it yearly; the hills are steep, mostly of decomposed granite with sparse vegetation, consequently after heavy rain the rivers are soon flooded and bring down quantities of sand and gravel from the hills. This has been a source of great expense to the company. The bridges are constructed with masonry foundations and iron or steel girders. The following are the principal :

River Kako	$24\frac{3}{4}$ miles,	{ 17 spans of 70 feet. 1 span of 50 "
" Ichi	$32\frac{3}{8}$ miles,	{ 18 spans of 70 feet. 20 " of 20 "
" Unemai	$37\frac{1}{8}$ miles,	{ 10 spans of 70 feet. 2 " of 40 "
" Hagashida	42 miles,	{ 9 spans of 40 feet. 6 " of 20 "
" Kajiyasu	$43\frac{1}{2}$ miles,	{ 13 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
" Chitose	55 miles,	{ 17 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
" Higasa	$69\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	{ 3 spans of 70 feet.
" Kango	$70\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	{ 4 spans of 70 feet. 9 " of 30 "

River	Yoshii	75 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	20 spans of 70 feet.
"	Hiyakuken	87 miles,	{ 1 span of 70 feet. 5 " of 50 " 10 " of 40 "
"	Asahi	87 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles,	12 spans of 70 feet.
"	Shiraishi	91 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles,	3 spans of 70 feet.
"	Shigashikorio	100 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	15 spans of 70 feet.
"	Nishikorio	102 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	15 spans of 70 feet.
"	Ashida	126 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles,	{ 9 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
"	Fujii	133 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles,	8 spans of 40 "

Number of spans.	Length of span.	Number of spans.	Length of span.	Remarks.
35	15 feet	21	50 feet	
33	20 "	5	60 "	
26	30 "	169	70 "	
43	40 "			
137		195		332 spans

The total length of bridges and culverts is 4.34 miles ; the tunnels, 1.071 miles.

The main line 143.50 miles, with a double line from Kobe to Hiogo Station, 1.225 miles, so that the total mileage of line laid is 145.11 miles. The Branch line to Wadanomisaki, 1.61 miles, Sidings accommodation, 6.57 miles, and Goods sidings, 14.836 miles.

The Rolling Stock on the 31st March, 1893, consisted of 25 engines, 139 carriages, and 323 wagons. Since then there has been an increase of 6 compound tender engines from Messrs. Baldwin & Co., 10 carriages, and 62 wagons.

The line runs near the coast of the Inland Sea with its many good harbours, consequently there is great opposition for both passengers and goods from the many small steamers and sailing vessels trading around the coast.

A Charter has been granted to the San'yo Railway to construct the line from Mihara to Shimonoseki, a distance of 157 miles, 13 chains. The Section from Mihara to Hiroshima is 46 miles, 22 chains. Opened to the public 10th June, 1894.

This section passes through a very pretty and picturesque country with steep gradients of an average of 1 in 47 for 5 miles, 50 chains; there are 8 tunnels, total length 3,589 feet, passing through the different spurs of the hills. At Saijo Station the line is 722 feet above the sea level. There are 23 bridges but none of importance :

KYUSHU RAILWAY :—136 $\frac{1}{4}$ MILES.

MOJI-KUMAMOTO SECTION.

Mileage from Moji.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Moji		10.00
3.10	Dairi	3.10	13.00
7.30	Kokura	4.20	8.57
14.40	Kurosaki	7.10	5.50
17.60	Orio	3.20	21.80
20.21	Ongagawa	2.41	10.00
27.61	Akama	7.40	26.00
34.01	Fukuma	6.20	26.00
36.31	Koga	2.30	26.00

KYUSHU RAILWAY:—186 $\frac{1}{2}$ MILS.

MOJI.—KUMAMOTO SECTION.

Continued.

Mileage from Moji.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each station	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
42.21	Kashii	5.70	14.40
45.51	Hakozaki	3.30	12.50
47.31	Hakata	1.60	14.00
51.71	Zasshonokuna.....	4.40	64.26
56.41	Futsukaichi	4.50	117.00
59.71	Harada.....	3.30	164.00
64.51	Tashiro	4.60	63.60
65.71	Tosu.....	1.20	58.00
69.71	Kurume	4.00	40.64
77.31	Haindzuka	7.40	40.47
81.21	Yabekawa	3.70	23.33
85.41	Watase.....	4.20	15.97
90.31	Ōmuda	4.70	13.42
98.01	Nagasu.....	7.50	12.74
104.01	Takase	6.00	22.22
113.51	Uyeki	9.50	189.88
119.11	Ikeda	5.40	34.73
121.31	Kumamoto	2.20	27.78

TOSU-SAGA SECTION.

Mileage from Tosu.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Tosu.....		58.00
5.00	Nakabaru.....	5.00	97.90
9.50	Kanzaki	4.50	26.72
15 30	Saga	5.60	14.12

The line starts from Moji, a new town made by the railway, situated on the Kyushu side of the Straits of Shimonoseki which separates the Main Island (Honsyu) and Kyushu. Owing to the extreme swiftness of the tides on the Shimonoseki side, the mail steamers and other vessels anchor at Moji. The presence of coal brought by the railway is a further inducement, and in the near future Moji will be an important town.

The coast views on the northern section of the line, from Moji to Ongagawa are fine. The rest of the way is less interesting, as it leads through country mostly flat.

Near Orio the railway crosses by a bridge the Chikuho Railway; between Ongagawa and Akama the highest point of the line (300 feet above sea level) is reached. Soon the sea coast is again reached and followed to Hakata, a port of some importance. The line strikes inland across the Shimabara peninsula. At Tosu is the junction of a line running to Saga, the prefectural town of Saga Ken. At Watase the Shimabara gulf is reached. Near Omuta the works of the Miike Coal Mines are indicated by the smoke rising from them. The

railway from the mine to the shipping port crosses on a bridge over the main line. Near Konoha is a monument to the memory of the soldiers who fell during the fierce fighting that raged for eighteen days in this neighbourhood during the Satsuma Rebellion. The line by following the coast reaches Kumamoto, the prefectural town of Kumamoto Ken with a population of about 53,000. The noble defense of this celebrated fortress in 1877 by General Tani was one of the immediate causes of the failure of the Satsuma Rebellion; this rebellion was one of the principal events which retarded railway development for many years.

Among the proposed extensions is the line from Kumamoto to Yatsushiro, with a branch from Matsubashi, half-way between Kumamoto and Yatsushiro, to Misumi, a port at the termination of the peninsula which partly divides the Shimabara Gulf from the Yatsushiro Sea. There is great depth of water in the Misumi harbour, which is well sheltered. It is proposed to make a wharf so that vessels can load, and what with the out-put of the Miike Mine, and the rice and produce of the country it should become an important point. On account of the shallow water of the Shimabara Gulf the Miike Coal is loaded into sailing barges which take it to Misumi 27 miles, or Kuchinotzu 35 miles, where it is loaded into large vessels. When the line is constructed to Misumi the coal will run direct from the mine to Misumi about 50 miles, and there loaded into vessels. The present out-put of the mine is about 1,000 tons a day; although the mine claims at a push it can load 4,000 tons of coal per day.

Another contemplated extension is from Saga to Nagasaki with a branch to the Naval Station at Sasebo.

The few foreigners engaged were German, consequently the permanent way, and rolling stock is of German design and manufacture. It is lighter than that used on the Government Railways.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Rolling Stock Return showed 22 engines, 61 carriages, and 253 wagons; total 360. Since then there has been an increase to the stock.

CHIKUHO RAILWAY:—30 MILES, 58 CHAINS.

Mileage from Wakamatsu.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Wakamatsu		
6.54	Orio	6.54	
9.20	Nakama	2.46	
12.20	Uyeki	3.00	
15.44	Naokata	3.24	
19.33	Otake	3.69	
21.33	Namadzuta	2.00	
24.38	Iidzuka	3.05	
	Naokata		
6.20	Kaneda.....	6.20	

This is principally a Coal Line from the port of Wakamatsu for the many mines in the Chikuzen and Buzen Coal Fields. The most important coal fields of Chikuzen are found along the Kama river, and at the south and north of the district of Kasuya not far distant

from the sea port of Hakata. The coal producing tracts belonging to the province of Buzen are found near the town of Kokura, and also along the Chiungenji river, one of the tributaries of the Kama river.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Rolling Stock Return showed 6 engines, 10 carriages and 246 wagons, total 262. Some Compound Engines have been received from Messrs. Baldwin & Co. A little peculiar, to say the least, to recommend a complicated engine to save fuel on a railway for carrying Coals.

In the Island of Shikoku are two small railways, the Sanuki, and Iyo Railway.

SANUKI RAILWAY:—10 MILES, 15 CHAINS.

Mileage from Kotohira.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kotohira		
3.20	Zentsuji	3.20	
7.40	Tadotsu	4.20	
10.15	Marugame	2.55	

This short line connects Kōmpira with the coast. Tadotsu is a bustling sea port, where numbers of steamers call from different parts of the Inland Sea. Maruyama has an inferior harbour to Tadotsu, consequently fewer steamers call there.

Rolling Stock, 3 engines, 31 carriages, and 18 wagons; total 52.

IYO RAILWAY:—10 MILES, 20 CHAINS.

Mileage from Takahama.	Name of Stations.	Distance be- tween each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Takahama		
0.00	Mitsu		
2.58	Furumachi	2.58	
4.18	Sotogaga	1.40	
0.00	Tachihama		
0.00	Kume		
10.20	Hiragawara	6.2	

Takahama is a port of call from Osaka. Matsuyama or Sotogawa is the capital of the province of Iyo. This is a miniature railway, running trains every hour.

The Rolling Stock: 4 engines, 18 carriages, and 15 wagons; total 37.

The mileage of all the Railways in operation on the 31st March, 1894:

	M. CH.
Government Railways	557.49
Sixteen Private Railways	1,381.01
Total mileage	<u>1,938.50</u>

Mileage of Railways under construction:

	M. CH.
Government Railways	422.04
Nineteen Private Railways	572.43
Total mileage	<u>994.47</u>

THE ROLLING STOCK RETURN ON THE 31ST MARCH, 1894.

The Government had in use upon the railways 140 locomotives, 814 carriages and vehicles attached to passenger trains, and 1,824 wagons for the conveyance of goods. The Private Railways had in use 211 locomotives, 802 carriages, and 3,463 wagons, giving a total of 351 locomotives, 1,616 carriages, and 5,287 wagons.

GENERAL REMARKS.

From the Autumn of 1877 the "Train Staff and Ticket System" was adopted for working single lines, which is carried out in the following manner:—Supposing the line, or the section of line, extends from A to B, and there are three trains at A wanting to proceed to B. The first one is dispatched with a ticket, and the second also, and the third, or last, must carry on the engine what is known as the train staff, a straight piece of wood somewhat resembling a constable's staff, but coloured and lettered in accordance with the particular section of line it refers to. The box containing the "Tickets" can only be unlocked by means of the train staff, which is really the key, and no train can enter the opposite end of the section until the staff itself arrives at that end, so that it is impossible for two trains travelling in opposite directions to meet, and the proper distance between trains proceeding in the same direction should be maintained by fixed signals. The line is divided into sections, with crossing places at convenient intervals, and each section has its own staff and set of tickets, and is worked separately in the manner described. It may be considered to be almost perfect as to safety, but it has some inconveniences. One drawback, is that the sections have of necessity to be short in order to avoid serious delays, and the train staff may be at one end of the section, while a train is waiting for it at the other. The train staff system, as described above, is supplemented by the Absolute

System of Block Signalling, upon heavy gradients, and where any especial feature exists which requires an additional safeguard. Upon the double line of rails this latter system of Blocking Working is provided.

There is much which might be improved upon in the general working of the Traffic, especially in the case of the staff being many consecutive hours on duty without proper rest; and with regard to trains running upon long gradients of 1 in 40. Probably through lack of due appreciation of the necessity for carrying out rigidly the regulations laid down for securing safety, the staff operating with trains neglect in many instances to avail themselves of the security provided by the side-lever brakes on the wagons. By thus neglecting to use the side lever brakes, the arresting force capable of being operated upon the trains is confined to the locomotive brake power and the screw brakes of the Guards Vans. There is as well an economic side to the question which is also very important, for it is indisputable that the wear and tear of braking when the brake power is distributed throughout the entire length of a train, is so much less than when the power is exerted by such a costly piece of machinery as a locomotive, which should be used as the motive power to regulate the speed of the train, and not in the capacity of an ordinary brake van.

Wheel-tappers, or Examiners, also men to examine and supply oil to the axle-boxes of vehicles, are appointed at stations about 20 miles apart, all moving trains while waiting at those stations, and every vehicle which may be attached is thoroughly inspected, to insure that it is in a safe and fit condition to travel. Carriages are swept and dusted inside at the principal stations, and at the termination of the journey are thoroughly cleaned inside, and periodically the outsides are washed.

For First and Second Class carriages the common foot-pan or warmer is provided during the cold weather,

but this adjunct to the traveller's comfort has not yet been supplied to the third class carriages. Considering that the proportion is about 18 third class passengers to each first or second class passenger, it might not be too much to expect that the authorities will before long see their way to extend this and other conveniences to their more numerous and paying body of customers; besides the Japanese kimono is not a garment which offers great protection against cold when the wearer has to place himself upon a wooden railway seat, and unless provided with warm wrappers, which the majority of third class passengers do not possess, a long journey at night during the winter must prove a very trying undertaking. In some countries a patent foot-warmer has been introduced in which the water is replaced by "acetate of soda," the advantage being, that the heat is retained nearly three times as long as in the ordinary hot water tins, viz. for about 8 hours; thus avoiding the inconvenience and annoyance to passengers of continually changing the foot-warmers on a long night journey. Another system is by means of steam and hot water pipes.

One of the great inconveniences of travelling by night is the bad lighting of railway carriages in Japan, rendering it an impossibility to read by the light shown from the roof lamps, which are constructed to burn the ordinary rape oil of the country. The lamps used could be much improved by having a different burner, and by more care in the trimming of the wick. Other illuminants than oil are being adopted for lighting railway carriages in different parts of the world with most satisfactory results; such as compressed oil gas, and electrical lighting. These latter have many advantages, but their cost is a hindrance in many instances to their general adoption.

The maximum rates and fares are fixed by the Government, but in many instances the Companies charge less than the maximum tolls. In fixing the rates, the articles, matters, and things, have to be classified; for

instance, minerals, and such matters, would be in the lowest class; while fresh fruit and fish, furniture, china, and other valuable or fragile articles would be in the highest. The rates are governed by the nature and the extent of the traffic, the pressure of competition, either by water, or by other land carriage; generally speaking the passenger fares are three sen, two sen, and one sen for first, second, and third class, per mile. The goods traffic has considerably devolved during the last five years.

The "Vacuum Automatic" brake has been fitted to most of the carriages of the Government Railways and also to many of those of Private Companies. Each carriage carries its own length of train-pipe, flexible hose, and universal couplings, also a reservoir and brake cylinder; while the train is running a continual vacuum is maintained in the train-pipes, reservoirs, and cylinders, by means of a small ejector on the engine, and in this condition the brakes are "Off," but when it is desired to apply them, air is admitted into the train-pipes by the driver or guard. The same result ensues if the train becomes separated or a coupling breaks, air being thus admitted to the train-pipe, and the brakes being applied automatically throughout the train. When it is desired to take the brakes off again, all that is necessary is to renew the vacuum by means of the ejector.

Railways try to provide every safety and often thereby incur great expense. On account of the many long and heavy gradients on the Government and other railways, strong side or safety chains (one inch the diameter of iron) were fitted to the carriages and wagons, so that in case of the draw-bar hook breaking, the safety chains would keep the train from parting. It is much to be regretted that an order has been issued not to fit future vehicles with safety chains, and to take off the safety chains from the vehicles now running, although these chains are of little use or value for other purposes.

The lines are well ballasted, good gravel being plentiful and easily procured from the river beds; the stations are small, and with very few exceptions the points and signal arrangements are of the most primitive methods, and are a good many years behind the Railway Age.

Although many of the costly appliances considered essential on modern railways to reduce the risks from mistakes on the part of railway employ  s have not been adopted in Japan; yet few countries can show a greater immunity from accidents, and irregularities. Much credit is consequently due to the management, and the staff, for such satisfactorily results.

Although railway engineering is comparatively young in Japan many difficulties not encountered in ordinary practice have had to be confronted. For example, bridges, buildings, and the permanent-way have in particular districts been constructed so that they offer better resistance to earthquake motion than is usually considered necessary. Advantage has also been taken of what are comparatively new appliances in engineering practice. One of these has been the use of an instrument called a "Vibration Recorder." A form of this instrument, which is small and portable, records the oscillatory motion and jerks of the part of the train in which it is placed. The excrescences on the general diagram it draws upon a band of paper, indicates the faulty points upon the track; where no vibrations are recorded, indicate the time that the train has stopped. On the Kawasaki Bridge it marked the position of two spongy sleepers which to outward appearances were solid.

Another form of the instrument is used in testing the balancing of Locomotives. One series of Locomotives as they arrived in Japan showed a violent fore and aft motion like Fig. I.

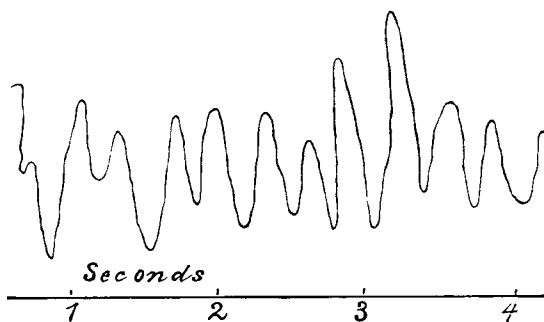


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

After rebalancing the same as in Fig. II; with the result, that they now burn less coal and run safely at higher speeds. A good deal of attention has been given to the question of balancing the engines, and also the slide valves with satisfactory results. The last tender passenger engines ran steadily at 43 miles per hour, special care having being given to balancing.

Japan must be congratulated on the cheap construction of its railway system, but it is impossible to have a thoroughly efficient system without paying for it. I here quote a few remarks on English Railways to show what may be expected on the Japanese Railways within a few years.

Note:—Vibration Recorder by Professor John Milne, F. R. S. and J. MacDonald, M. I. M. E., of Tokyo.

England and Japan are very similar in size and population. The railway interests of the United Kingdom occupy the attention of leading minds of the day, and are powerfully represented in the Legislature. The number of persons employed in working the railways in 1892 was 385,626, exclusive of those persons engaged in the construction of new lines. At the close of 1892 there were in use upon the railways 17,439 locomotives, 40,079 carriages for the conveyance of passengers, 14,741 other vehicles attached to passenger trains, 575,436 wagons for the conveyance of live stock, minerals, and general merchandise, and 12,611 miscellaneous vehicles. The total amount of capital authorised by Parliament to be raised for the construction of railways on the 31st December 1892.....£1,052,606,665
 The earnings for the year 1892 amounted to £82,092,040
 The total working expenses to £45,717,965
 The total profit to £36,374,075

As an evidence of the security afforded for travel on English Railways, it may be mentioned that 97 per cent. have been fitted with apparatuses for interlocking points with signals; while the Absolute Block System of Train Signalling has been adopted on 17,396 miles out of 20,325 miles.

That 59,179 or 98 per cent of the vehicles used in passenger trains have been fitted either with continuous brakes, or with pipes only, for running with vehicles so fitted; and these brakes comply with the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade, who is a hard task-master to Railway Companies.

An interesting problem was worked out some years ago by the "Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps" to the satisfaction of the Military Authorities. The problem was the assumption that an invading force numbering 150,000 men had commenced to disembark on the coast between Southend and Shoeburyness (north of the mouth of the river Thames), and that hostile vessels were simultane-

ously ascending the Blackwater river. Instructions were supposed to have been issued by telegraph for the concentration of six Army Corps, numbering about 130,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, to repel the invader, three Corps being brought up as rapidly as possible, and the whole within 48 hours. Particulars were given as to where the troops were stationed all over the country, and the number of men quartered at each place. It was assumed, of course, that the ordinary traffic would be, for the time being, entirely suspended. Tables were made out showing in the most complete detail the number of trains required and all particulars of starting, route to be travelled, the hour of arrival and time allowed for refreshments and other purposes. The total number of trains employed was 515; the speed was about 25 miles an hour, exclusive of stoppages, the trains following one another on the same lines at intervals of fifteen minutes, and the last train was timed to arrive at Chelmsford within 45 hours and 50 minutes of the hour at which the order was supposed to have been given by telegraph. Thus it is evident that railways have revolutionised the conditions of modern warfare.

F. H. T.

STATISTICS OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE RAILWAYS.

Total Length of Private and Government Railways, Capital, Passengers and Goods Conveyed, Receipts, Working Expenses, and Profits for the year ending 31st March, 1893. Also similar Returns of the English and the Indian Railways for the year ending 31st December, 1892.

Name of Railway Company.			Length of Line Open.	Capital.	Number of Passengers.	Amount of Goods.
			M. Ch.	Yen.	Number.	Tons.
Nippon	Railway	Company.				
"	"	" A	591.61	20,000,000	4,250,064	432,150
Ryomo	"	"	52.17	1,500,000	1,095,412	92,213
Kobu	"	"	22.77	900,000	419,426	53,015
Sanyo	"	"	145.24	13,000,000	1,956,023	167,201
Kyushu	"	"	136.61	7,500,000	1,333,034	122,796
Kansai	"	" B	59.05	3,000,000	275,688	29,407
Osaka	"	"	32.55	2,300,000	997,712	85,237
Hankai	"	"	6.13	400,000	1,957,648	
Sanuki	"	"	10.15	300,000	459,897	9,166
Iyo	"	"	5.66		569,293	288,228
Chikuho	"	"	25.53	2,500,000	193,676	200,256
Tanko	"	"	204.71	5,000,000	451,726	469,955
Kushiro	"	" C	25.78	200,000	1,284	9,732
Private Companies.....			1319.36	56,600,000	13,960,883	1,959,366
Government Railway.....			559.49	37,563,836	12,873,547	982,404
Japanese Railways.....			1879.05	94,163,836	26,834,430	2,941,870
English Railways			20,325.00	9,443,573.200	364,435,388	309,626,378
Indian Railways.....			17,769.00	2,271,291,540	127,456,913	26,334,232

A—Return for 9 months ; B—Return for 6 months ; C—Opened 1st September, 1892.

Receipts.				Working Expenses.	Profit.	Per Cent for the year end- ing 31/3/93.
Passengers.	Goods.	Miscellan- eous.	Total.			
Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	
1,231,528	774,955	31,587	2,069,897	923,438	2,146,459	10.00
135,486	61,309	15,542	210,785	86,508	124,277	7.00
75,356	31,042	3,696	111,767	35,892	75,876	8.15
349,156	87,361	36,441	482,859	203,111	279,949	3.65
325,134	95,500	10,288	447,246	206,848	234,399	4.00
77,654	17,280	2,054	98,662	41,376	57,292	3.61
173,343	39,349	4,340	219,474	80,502	138,972	6.60
87,701	1,227	578	89,507	38,720	50,788	13.00
28,228	889	705	30,096	17,270	12,826	3.90
15,473	2,092	987	18,552	9,317	9,235	9.25
25,388	57,193	581	83,697	31,994	11,703	7.00
120,094	302,627	22,496	446,146	314,303	131,843	7.35
277	4,196		4,494	4,106	388	0.00
2,644,818	1,475,000	129,296	4,307,173	1,993,379	2,313,804	
3,487,133	1,019,262	74,238	4,580,632	2,166,199	2,414,433	
6,131,951	2,494,262	203,534	8,887,815	4,159,578	4,728,237	
302,529,030	428,664,980		785,293,140	457,179,650	328,113,490	
			232,292,810	108,266,140	122,152,110	

One yen=2 shillings. Then English and Indian Capital taken as 10 yen to the £.

Average cost per mile; also the average number of passengers and tons of goods per mile for one year :

Japan	50,000	yen ;	14,300	passengers ;	1,500	Tons
India	125,000	" ;	7,000	" ;	1,500	"
England	460,000	" ;	18,000	" ;	15,000	"

APPENDIX.

The following 11 Tables are from the translation of the Government Railway Report for the year ending March 31st, 1893, as published in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of January 13th, 1894.

It would be convenient if the Railway Bureau had some copies of the translation of the yearly Railway Reports as made by the *Japan Weekly Mail*, so as to supply information often asked for by persons too stupid, or not educated enough to read the Japanese language. The English translation would in most cases supply this information.

Table No. 1.—Detailed Statement of Railway expenditures on Capital Account for the Year ending March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 2.—Detailed Statement of Railway Revenue for the Year ending March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 3.—General Balance Sheet March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 4.—Quantity of Rolling Stock at the close of the Twenty-fifth Fiscal Year.

Table No. 5.—Statistics of Passenger Traffic.

Table No. 6.—Statistics of Goods Traffic.

Table No. 7.—Locomotive Running and Consumption Sheet for the 25th Fiscal Year.

Table No. 8.—List of Deaths and Injuries among Passengers, Staff, and others in the different Sections during the 25th Fiscal Year.

Table No. 9.—List of Casualties and Accidents in connection with the Traffic in the different Sections during the 25th Fiscal Year.

Table No. 10.—Statistics of the Private Railway Companies.

Table No. 11.—Rolling Stock Return of the Private Railway Companies at the close of the 25th Fiscal Year.

TREVITHICK: THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN JAPAN.

TABLE No. 1.

DETAILED STATEMENT OF RAILWAY EXPENDITURES ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1893.

Items.	Tokaido Line, 258 miles.														Grand Total
	Tokyo-Yokohama, Double Line, 18 miles.	Kobe-Otsu, Single Line, 38 miles.	Tsuruga-Ogaki, Single Line, 49 miles.	Naoetsu Line, Single Line, 110 miles.	Yokohama-Obu			Ogaki-Take-toyo, Single Line, 53 miles.	Total.	Yokosuka Line, Single Line, 10 miles.	Biwa Lake Shore Line Single Line 10 miles.	Total, 551 miles (Fixed Capital).	Usui Line, under Construction.		
					Single Line, 205 miles.	Oyama-Namazu Double Line, 22 miles.	Total.								
Preliminary Surveys	24,829.675	68,888.583	100,879.327	39,422.495	27,209.151	2,146.895	29,356.046	9,114.705	38,470.751	4,204.190	3,063.675	279,758.696	13,643.084	293,401.780	
Superintending and Engineering ..	74,882.680	202,163.621	47,594.021	117,812.241	189,097.288	9,020.916	198,118.204	49,552.516	247,670.720	7,889.782	16,810.510	714,823.605	74,355.966	789,179.571	
Right of Way and Station Ground ..	235,831.433	371,555.755	88,351.093	243,191.809	460,311.584	865.222	461,176.806	119,076.718	580,253.519	23,977.694	104,763.515	1,647,924.818	14,579.371	1,662,504.189	
Earthworks	464,808.072	867,621.272	618,533.000	1,024,133.832	1,861,674.514	99,782.139	1,961,456.653	333,266.201	2,294,722.854	59,510.393	383,332.650	5,712,662.073	106,066.340	5,818,728.413	
Bridges	653,664.566	2,081,660.222	175,801.902	408,512.101	2,540,427.038	64,984.939	2,605,411.977	1,059,378.340	3,664,790.317	21,091.183	446,583.400	7,452,103.691	127,593.973	7,579,697.664	
Culverts	15,680.779	411,154.858	84,988.659	137,627.828	270,300.834	15,271.791	285,572.625	87,043.490	372,616.115	9,781.017	113,483.039	1,145,332.295	10,940.975	1,156,273.270	
Drainage Pipes	23,521.169	14,032.121	9,486.420	53,996.976	47,431.589	826.050	48,257.639	12,539.410	60,797.049	946.794	16,612.192	179,392.721	763.675	180,156.396	
Tunnels	—	503,125.438	531,943.315	69,842.834	1,103,880.130	—	1,103,880.130	—	1,103,880.130	153,521.649	72,135.791	2,434,449.157	753,851.765	3,188,300.922	
Permanent Way	522,345.808	811,591.280	623,058.028	790,409.339	1,487,988.074	133,121.250	1,621,109.324	428,539.785	2,049,649.109	95,924.777	328,473.677	5,221,452.018	155,692.564	5,377,144.582	
Stations	226,820.510	932,945.431	140,825.748	104,828.486	257,249.584	1,495.662	258,745.246	59,695.844	318,441.090	16,036.697	47,795.161	1,787,693.123	7,989.383	1,795,082.506	
Breakwater and Wharves	—	1,622.452	102,284.197	132.990	8,768.121	—	8,768.121	—	8,768.121	—	—	112,807.760	—	112,807.760	
Rolling Stock	355,981.709	1,027,986.205	718,389.413	434,388.489	1,339,154.607	—	1,339,154.607	77,980.126	1,417,134.733	—	9,380.141	3,963,260.690	419,456.851	4,382,717.541	
Machine Shops	167,990.077	344,863.355	95,075.290	69,098.519	64,729.004	—	64,729.004	11,452.791	76,181.795	—	—	753,209.036	6,178.784	759,387.820	
Buildings	47,594.509	154,485.480	31,223.014	59,437.610	61,614.118	22.076	61,636.194	14,551.474	76,187.668	3,074.286	10,760.020	382,762.587	16,507.612	399,270.229	
Transportation	225.698	829.516	2,237.154	174,039.526	349,248.242	4,413.956	353,662.201	56,189.961	409,852.162	8,905.970	37,297.412	633,387.438	264,471.038	897,858.476	
Construction Trains.....	5,224.811	17,531.420	17,339.331	20,016.870	84,568.248	10,341.369	94,909.627	2,381.936	97,291.563	4,030.970	4,939.822	166,374.787	8,998.403	175,373.190	
Construction Plant	66,668.930	489.024	—	23,013.072	70,931.167	66.890	70,998.057	1,014.091	72,012.148	559.145	3,012.434	165,754.753	5,193.981	170,948.734	
Fences and Boundary Posts	4,336.356	33,345.125	820.929	3,715.999	4,998.545	—	4,998.545	1,233.249	6,231.794	228.862	930.277	49,609.342	119.250	49,728.592	
General Charges	51,811.568	140,324.635	112,866.464	39,131.772	110,052.478	51.177	110,103.654	67,919.091	178,022.745	2,825.402	29,006.124	553,988.711	4,453.852	558,442.563	
Telegraphs	10.460	17,350.889	4,865.459	9,658.190	29,626.411	1,161.613	30,788.024	3,084.467	33,872.491	1,214.649	4,015.348	70,987.486	405.705	71,393.191	
Total	2,942,228.810	8,003,566.682	3,506,562.764	3,822,410.979	10,369,260.727	343,571.956	10,712,832.684	2,394,014.190	13,106,846.874	413,723.460	1,632,395.218	33,427,734.787	1,991,262.602	35,418,997.389	
Working Fund														2,000,000.000	
Material in Stores, Sums receivable for Cash entrusted to Paymasters														151,838.769	
Sums payable for Material used for the Usui Line														16,361.622	
Yen.... 37,554,474.563															

TABLE No. 2.

DETAILED STATEMENT OF RAILWAY REVENUE FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31ST, 1893.

Sections.	Traffic Receipts.				Traffic Expenditures.					
	Coaching Receipts.	Goods Receipts.	Miscellaneous Receipts	Total.	Maintenance of Way	Expense of Locomotive Power.	Traffic Expenses.	General Charges.	Totals.	Net Profit.
Tokyo-Kobe	3,009,675.030	820,072.386	70,393.613	3,900,141.029	597,425.188	660,261.092	319,760.774	121,349.377	1,698,796.431	2,201,344.598
Ofuna-Yokosuka	64,995.080	1,451.240	269.016	66,715.336	7,536.285	9,031.160	4,275.427	1,940.455	22,783.327	43,932.009
Obu-Taketoyo	20,908.710	3,823.370	503.892	25,235.972	7,740.243	2,794.795	2,775.043	853.976	14,164.057	11,071.915
Maibara-Tsuruga	88,251.940	22,615.300	1,077.310	111,944.550	53,045.653	18,596.808	11,071.014	4,312.286	87,025.761	24,918.789
Takasaki-Yokogawa	64,098.548	25,464.491	935.364	90,498.403	24,537.131	15,357.801	8,906.490	3,085.426	51,886.848	38,611.555
Karuizawa-Naoetsu	239,203.510	145,834.850	1,058.773	386,097.133	149,511.752	94,478.083	32,865.548	14,687.214	291,542.597	94,554.536
Total Yen.....	3,487,132.818	1,019,261.637	74,237.968	4,580,632.423	839,796.252	800,519.739	379,654.296	140,228.734	2,166,199.021	2,414,433.402

TABLE No. 3. GENERAL BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31st, 1893.

Items.	Cr.	Items.	Cr.
Construction Expenditure		Capital	35,551,474.536
Material in Stores:		Working fund	2,000,000.000
Construction Department	35,418,997.389	Traffic Receipts	4,580,632.423
Traffic Department	150,829.136	Sum's Payable:--	
Working Expenses.	939,630.276	Construction Department	16,361.622
Supplementary Works	2,166,139.021	Traffic Department	665,554.362
Sum's receivable:	347,343.173	New Account	17,978.176
Construction Department			
Traffic Department	33,616.152		
Office furniture, &c.	57,818.332		
Paymasters	1,009.633		
On deposit	3,120.558		
		Total	42,236,001.119
			42,236,001.119

TABLE No. 4.
QUANTITY OF ROLLING STOCK AT CLOSE OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH FISCAL YEAR.

Materials.	Tokyo-Hamamatsu and Yokosuka.		Kobe-Hamamatsu, Ohu-Taketo, Maibara-Tsuruga.		Total.	Total at the close of the 23rd Fiscal Year.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Tokyo-Hamamatsu and Yokosuka.		Kobe-Hamamatsu, Ohu-Taketo, Maibara-Tsuruga.					
Engines	43		71		133	123	10	—
State Coaches	1		1		2	2	—	—
1st class Carriages	32		5		37	37	—	—
1st and 2nd class Composite	11		14		27	24	3	—
2nd class Carriages	43		30		73	59	14	—
2nd and 3rd class Composite	—		—		7	7	—	—
2nd class and Postal Service Composite	—		5		5	5	—	—
3rd class Carriages	83		234		343	343	—	—
3rd class and Brake Composite	21		30		53	47	6	—
Passenger Brake Vans	28		34		73	73	—	—
Postal Service Vans	10		—		10	10	—	—
Covered Goods Waggon	89		525		732	692	40	—
Open Goods Waggon	107		391		510	505	36	1
Carriage Waggon	3		1		4	4	—	—
Horse Boxes	2		1		3	3	—	—
Cattle Trucks	3		10		13	13	—	—
Fish Trucks	6		28		34	34	—	—
Oil Trucks	15		42		57	43	14	—
Timber Trucks	6		24		30	30	—	—
Ballast Waggon	97		70		215	210	5	25
Stone Waggon	—		1		1	1	—	—
Goods Brake Vans	45		67		122	118	4	—
Casualty Vans	1		1		2	2	—	—
Grand Total	646		1,585		2,516	2,415	127	26

STATISTICS OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

TABLE No. 5

Items.	Tokyo-Kobe Section.				Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.			
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease marked.*		25th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease marked.*	
Average operating mileage *.....	429,36	430.9	*	.53	18.	18.	0.	
Passenger train mileage	2,023,152.	2,066,180	*	43,028.	4,176.	1,342.	2,734.	
Mixed train mileage	328,121.	209,474.		118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.	
Total	2,187,213.	2,170,917.		16,296.	34,908.	27,804.	7,104.	
Daily train mileage	5,992.	5,931.		61.	96.	76.	20.	
Carriage mileage.....	25,503,696.	25,125,122.		378,274.	416,899.	346,812.	70,057.	
Average mileage per day	69,873.	68,649.		1,224.	1,142.	948.	194.	
Average number of carriages to a train	11.66	11.57		.09	11.94	12.47	.53	
Total number of carriages used	240,276.	231,461.		8,812.	—	—	—	
Daily Average mileage per carriage	107.878	110.048	*	2.170	—	—	—	
Number of Passengers carried :—								
First and Second class	702,839.	660,081.		42,758.	9,017.	9,623.	606.	
Third class	10,890,449.	9,903,633.		986,816.	370,688.	346,736	23,952.	
Total	11,593,288.	10,563,714.		1,029,574.	379,705.	356,359.	23,346.	
Daily average number of passengers	31,762.	28,863.		2,899.	1,040.	974.	66.	
Passenger mileage :—								
First and Second class passenger mileage.....	22,035,262.	20,026,212.		2,009,050.	121,601.	144,992.	20,391.	
Third class passenger mileage	254,274,297.	227,272,220.		26,502,077.	4,495,323.	4,581,902.	86,579.	
Total	276,309,559.	247,798,432.		28,511,127.	4,619,924.	4,726,894.	106,970.	
Average mileage per passenger	23.83	23.46		.37	12.17	13.26	1.09	

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Average mileage per First and Second class passenger	31.35	30.34	1.01	13.82	15.07 *	1.25
Average mileage per Third class passenger	23.35	23.00	.35	12.13	13.21 *	1.08
Average number of passengers per mile	613,503.	576,125.	67,278.	256,662.	262,605.	5,943
Average number of passengers per train mile	126.33	114.14	12.19	132.35	170.01 *	37.66
Average number of passengers per carriage mile	10.83	9.86	.97	11.08	13.63 *	2.55
Coaching Receipts:—						
Passenger receipts	8,036,118.377	2,731,418.235	301,780.142	63,972.740	62,206.610	1,766.130
Parcels and luggage receipts ..	122,646.680	97,721.330	24,925.350	1,112.670	1,097.600	15,070
Postal service receipts	32,825.604	32,412.388	383.216	769.566	720.000	49,566
Total	3,191,620.661	2,861,581.953	327,038.708	65,854.976	64,024.210	1,830.766
Daily average receipts	8,744.166	7,826.727	917.439	180.425	174.930	5.495
Average receipts per operating mile	7,431.880	6,660.076	771.804	3,658.670	3,556.901	101.709
Average receipts per train mile ..	1,459	1,320	.139	1.887	2.303 *	.416
Average receipts per carriage mile .....	.1251	.1140	.0111	.1580	.1846 *	.0266
Average receipts per passenger ..	.2619	.2589	.0030	.1685	.1746 *	.0061
Average receipts per passenger mile .....	.01099	.01103 *	.00004	.01385	.01316	.00069
Average receipts per carriage and luggage carried	13,557	12,653	.904	—	—	—
Total tonnage of parcels and luggage carried	5,168.	4,396.	772.	184.	164.	20.
Average number of tons per day	14.16	12.01	2.15	.50	.45	.05
Average receipts per ton	23.732	22.230	1,502	6.047	6.693 *	.646

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Items.	Karuzawa-Naoetsu Section.				Total.	
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. De-crease mark-ed.*	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. De-crease mark-ed.*
Average operating mileage *	92.10	92.10	—	539.46	540.19	.53
Passenger train mileage	—	—	—	2,027,328.	2,067,522.	40,194.
Mixed train mileage	251,172.	259,345.	8,173.	640,757.	521,743.	119,014.
Total	125,586.	129,673.	4,087.	2,347,707.	2,328,394.	19,313.
Daily train mileage	344.	355.	11.	6,432.	6,362.	70.
Carriage mileage	1,193,667.	1,249,498.	55,831.	27,114,262.	26,721,762.	392,500.
Average mileage per day	3,270.	3,414.	144.	74,285.	73,011.	1,274.
Average number of carriage to a train	9.50	9.64	.14	11.55	11.48	.07
Total number of carriages used †	13,140.	12,688.	452.	253,416.	244,152.	9,264.
Daily average per carriage ..	90.842	98.479	7.637	106,395	109,447	2,452
Number of passengers carried:—						
First and Second class	14,230.	13,633.	597.	726,086.	683,337.	42,749
Third class	886,324.	851,207.	35,117.	12,147,461.	11,101,376.	1,046,085.
Total	900,554.	864,840.	35,714.	12,873,547.	11,787,913.	1,085,634.
Daily average number of pas-sengers	2,467.	2,371.	96.	35,270.	32,208.	3,062.

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Daily Average receipts	Yen	657,404	642,051	15,353	9,581,995.	8,643,708	938,287
Average receipts per operating mile	Yen	2,604,642	2,550,780	53,862	6,481,820	5,855,937	625,883
Average receipts per train mile	Yen	1,911	1,812	999	1,490	1,359	.131
Average receipts per carriage mile	Yen	.2010	.1881	.0126	.1290	.1184	.0106
Average receipts per passenger mile	Yen	.2615	.2653	.0038	.2591	.2508	.0023
Average daily receipts per carriage	Yen	.01313	.01313	—	.01116	.01121	.00005
Total tonnage	Yen	18,261	18,521	.260	13,801	12,957	.844
luggage carried	Tons	135.	130.	5.	5,487.	4,690.	797.
Average number of tons per day	Tons	.37	.36	.01	15.03	12.82	2.18
Average receipts per ton	Yen	480.22	22,964	2,680	23,054	20,707	2,347

* The practice of deducting the mileages of the portions of lines suspended by damage will be discontinued from this year.

† Number of vehicles multiplied by the number of days they were employed.

‡ Inclusive of the Yokogawa Line.

Note 1.—The Mails are not included in the tonnage of Parcels and Luggage.

Note 2.—Total number of Carriages used in the Tokyo-Kobe Section in the 24th fiscal year was given in the last report as 216,944. This was an error, 231,464 being the correct number.

TABLE No. 6. STATISTICS OF GOODS TRAFFIC.

Items.	Tokyo-Kobe Section.			Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.		
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease Marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease Marked.*
Average operating mileage	439.16	43.69	*	18.	18.	*
Goods train mileage	824,728.	684,760.	139,968.	12,294.	10,587.	1,707.
Mixed train mileage	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total	988,788.	789,497.	199,291.	43,026.	37,049.	5,977.
Daily average mileage	2,709.	2,157.	552.	118.	101.	17.
Goods waggon mileage	16,792,482.	12,401,744.	4,387,738.	346,420.	318,782.	27,638.
Empty waggon mileage	3,598,182.	2,610,390.	987,792.	122,394.	95,766.	26,628.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	3,121,656.	2,040,007.	1,081,649.	1,314.	414.	900.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	476,526.	570,383.	* 93,857.	121,080.	95,352.	25,728.
Ratio of empty waggon mileage to the Total waggon mileage	21.4	21.0	0.4	35.3	30.0	5.3
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, down train	37.2	32.9	4.3	0.8	0.3	0.5
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, up train	5.7	9.2	3.5	69.9	59.8	10.1
Daily average mileage	46,007.	33,893.	12,114.	949.	871.	78.
Daily average mileage of freighted waggons	36,149.	26,761.	9,388.	614.	609.	.5

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Daily average mileage of empty waggon	Miles	9,858.	7,132.	2,726.	335.	262.	*	73.
Average number of waggon to a train	Waggon	16.98	15.71	1.27	8.05	8.60		0.55
Total number of waggon used	Waggon	549,064.	508,321.	40,713.	—	—		—
Daily average mileage per waggon	Miles	31.215	25.030	6.185	—	—		—
Tonnage of goods carried	Tons	850,245.	685,505.	164,740.	50,032.	49,200.		832.
Daily average tonnage	Tons	2,329.	1,873.	456.	137.	134.		3.
Ton Mileage :—								
Ton mileage, down train	Miles	13,904,325.	—	—	728,998.	—		—
Ton mileage, up train	Miles	26,657,141.	—	—	86,034.	—		—
Total	Miles	40,561,466.	26,766,011.	13,795,455.	815,032.	807,222.	*	7,810.
Average mileage per ton	Miles	47.71	38.99	8.72	16.29	16.41		0.12
Average tonnage per mile	Tons	92,353.	60,851.	31,502.	45,280.	44,290.	*	990.
Average tonnage per train mile	Tons	41.021	33.903	7.148	18.943	21.788		2.845
Average tonnage per train mile, down train	Tons	28.124	—	—	33.886	—		—
Average tonnage per train mile, up train	Tons	53.919	—	—	3.999	—		—
Average tonnage per waggon mile	Tons	2.415	2.158	0.257	2.353	2.532	*	0.179
Average tonnage per waggon mile, down train	Tons	1.656	—	—	4.209	—		—
Average tonnage per waggon mile, up train	Tons	3.175	—	—	0.497	—		—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile	Tons	3.074	2.733	0.341	3.638	3.620		0.018
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, down train	Tons	2.636	—	—	4.241	—		—

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, up train	Tons	3,366	—	—	1,650	—	—
Goods Receipts:							
Ordinary freight receipts	Yen	254,570.267	199,180.264	55,390.003	13,204.961	13,027.677	177.284
Waggon-load freight receipts..	Yen	420,012.150	382,421.270	37,590.880	8,578.400	11,816.990	3,238.590
Goods carried by special con- tract receipts	Yen	229,392.750	95,156.590	134,236.160	2,952.780	—	2,952.780
Total	Yen	903,975.167	676,758.124	227,217.043	24,736.142	24,844.667	108.526
Daily average receipts	Yen	2,476.644	1,849.066	627.578	67.770	67.882	0.112
Average receipts per mile	Yen	2,038.231	1,538.567	519.664	1,374.230	1,380.259	6.029
Average receipts per train mile	Yen	0.914	0.857	0.057	0.575	0.671	0.069
Average receipts per waggon mile	Yen	0.0538	0.0546*	0.0008	0.0714	0.0779	0.0065
Average receipts per freighted waggon mile	Yen	0.0685	0.0691*	0.0006	0.1104	0.1114	0.0010
Average receipts per ton	Yen	1.0632	0.9872	0.0760	0.4944	0.5050*	0.0106
Average receipts per ton mile..	Yen	0.02229	0.02528*	0.00299	0.03035	0.03078*	0.00043
Daily average receipts per waggons	Yen	1,691	1,380	0.311	—	—	—

AGGREGATE TRAIN MILEAGES.				
Passenger train mileage	Miles	2,023,152	2,066,180	* 43,028
Goods train mileage	Miles	824,728	684,760	139,968
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121	209,474	118,647
Total		3,176,001	2,960,414	215,587
			77,934	64,853
			4,176	1,342
			12,294	10,587
			61,464	52,924
				8,540
				18,081

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Items.	Karuizawa-Naoetsu Section.				Total.	
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease Marked.*		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.
Average operating mileage	Miles	92.10	*	0.	549,79	*
Goods train mileage	Miles	31,162.		13,174.	713,035.	155,149.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	251,172.	*	8,173	521,743.	119,014.
Total	Miles	156,718.		9,387	973,907.	214,655.
Daily average mileage	Miles	429.		26.	2,661.	595.
Goods waggon mileage	Miles	1,393,152.		157,172.	13,959,506.	4,572,548.
Empty waggon mileage	Miles	594,704.		54,746.	3,246,114.	1,069,166.
Empty waggon mileage, down train	Miles	544,075.		42,553.	2,541,943.	1,125,102.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	Miles	50,629.		12,193.	704,171.	55,936.
Ratio of empty waggon mileage to the total waggon mileage.	Per cent.	12.7	*	1.0	23.3	0.0
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, down train	Per cent.	73.1	*	3.1	36.4	3.2
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, up train	Per cent.	7.3		1.0	10.1	3.1
Daily average mileage	Miles	3,817.		410.	38,141.	12,632.
Daily average mileage of freighted waggons	Miles	2,188.		286.	29,272.	9,679.

Table No. 6 continued.

Daily average mileage of empty waggons.....	Miles	1,629.	1,475.	154.	11,822.	8,869.	2,953.
Average number of waggons to a train	Waggons	8.89.	8.39	0.50	15.59	14.33	1.26
Total number of waggons used	Waggons	79,570.	76,616.	2,954.	628,634.	584,937.	43,697.
Daily average mileage per waggon	Miles	19.277	16.132	3.145	29.480	23.865	5.615
Tonnage of goods carried	Tons	82,127.	71,806.	10,321.	982,404.	806,511.	175,893.
Daily average tonnage	Tons	225.	196.	29.	2,691	2,203.	488.
Ton Mileage:							
Ton mileage, down train	Miles	496,979.	—	—	15,130,302.	—	—
Ton mileage, up train	Miles	2,953,839.	—	—	29,697,014.	—	—
Total	Miles	3,450,818.	2,883,637.	567,181.	44,827,316.	30,456,870.	14,370,446.
Average mileage per ton	Miles	42.02	40.13	1.89	45.63	37.76	7.87
Average tonnage per mile.....	Tons	374.58.	31,301.	6,157.	81,604.	55,377.	26,227.
Average tonnage per train	Tons	22,015	19,569	2,446	37,716	31,273	36.44
Average tonnage per train mile, down train.....	Tons	6.341	—	—	25.460	—	—
Average tonnage per train mile, up train	Tons	37.689	—	—	49.971	—	—
Average tonnage per waggon mile	Tons	2.477	2.333	0.144	2.419	2.182	0.237
Average tonnage per waggon mile, down train.....	Tons	.713	—	—	1.633	—	—

Table No. 6 continued.

Average tonnage per waggon mile, up train	Tons	4.241	—	—	3.250	—	—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile	Tons	4.322	4.143	179.	3.153	2.843	0.310
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, down train ..	Tons	3.259	—	—	2.702	—	—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, up train	Tons	4.573	—	—	3.205	—	—
Goods Receipt:—							
Ordinary freight receipts ...	Yen	146,610.640	128,442.680	18,167.960	414,385.868	340,650.621	73,735.247
Waggon-load freight receipts..	Yen	19,800	—	19,800	428,610.350	394,238.260	34,372.090
Goods carried by special contract receipts	Yen	—	—	—	232,345.530	95,156.590	137,188.940
Total	Yen	146,630.440	128,442.680	18,187.760	1,075,341.748	830,045.471	245,296.277
Daily average receipts	Yen	401.727	350.936	50.791	2,946.141	2,267.884	678.257
Average receipts per mile	Yen	1,591.647	1,394.222	197.425	1,957.569	1,509.208	448.361
Average receipts per train-mile	Yen	0.935	0.872	0.063	0.905	0.852	0.053
Average receipts per waggon mile	Yen	0.1053	0.109	0.0014	0.0580	0.0595	0.0015
Average receipts per freighted waggon-mile	Yen	0.1836	0.1845*	0.0009	0.0756	0.0775	0.0019
Average receipts per ton	Yen	1.7854	1.7887*	0.0033	1.0946	1.0292	0.0654
Average receipts per ton-mile.	Yen	0.04249	0.04134*	0.00205	0.02339	0.02725*	0.00326
Daily average receipts per waggon	Yen	1.843	1.676	0.167	1.711	1.419	0.292

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED. AGGREGATE TRAIN MILEAGES.

Passenger train mileage	Miles	—	—	2,027,328.	2,067,528.	* 40,194.
Goods train mileage	Miles	31,162.	17,688.	808,184.	713,035.	155,149.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	251,172.	259,345.	* 8,173.	521,743.	119,014.
Total		282,334.	277,033.	5,301.	3,302,300.	233,969.

* The practice of deducting the mileages of portions of lines suspended by damage will be discontinued from this year.

† Number of vehicles multiplied by the number of days they were employed.

‡ Inclusive of the Yokogawa line.

Note 1.—The reason of the operating mileage of the Goods Traffic being miles 960 longer than that of the Passenger Traffic is on account of the Fukutani Goods line being included in this table.

Note 2.—The total number of waggons used in the Tokyo-Kobe Section during the 24th fiscal year was given as 502,746. This was an error, 508,321 being the correct figures.

TABLE No. 7. LOCOMOTIVE RUNNING AND CONSUMPTION SHEET FOR THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

Sections.	Total Locomotive Running Milenge. Mile.	Total Coal Con- sumption. Cwt.	Average Coal Con- sumption per mile. Lbs.	Total Oil Consump- tion. Pints.	Average Oil Con- sumption per mile. Pints.
Tokyo-Kobe.....	3,234,515.	861,774.	29.84	361,224.3	11.17
Ofuna-Yokosuka.....	81,545.4	17,730.	24.35	5,175.	6.35
Obu-Taketoyo	30,618.	5,085.	18.60	3,606.	11.78
Maibara-Tsuruga	122,834.4	33,254.	30.32	19,255.4	15.68
Takasaki-Yokogawa	95,171.4	29,248.	34.42	7,829.	8.23
Kanisawa-Naotsu	393,374.4	100,444.	28.60	26,733.4	6.80
	3,958,058.4	1,047,535.	29.64	423,823.3	10.71

TABLE NO. 8. LIST OF DEATHS AND INJURIES AMONG PASSENGERS, STAFF, AND OTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS DURING THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR

Sections.	Passengers.						Railway Staff.						General Public.						Total	
	Accidental.			Negligence.			Accidental.			Negligence.			Suicide.			Negligence.			Killed.	Wound- ed.
	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths	Injuries.	Deaths	Injuries.	Deaths	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.				
Tokyo-Kobe Section..	2	1	—	4	1	3	10	6	54	—	—	11	25	—	—	—	—	92	25	
Tokasuki - Yokogawa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	
Section	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	1	
Karuisawa - Naetsu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Section	2	1	—	4	2	3	10	6	57	—	—	12	31	—	—	—	—	102	26	

NOTE.—Under the head of "accidental" are recorded deaths and injuries arising from unforeseen occurrences. Thus the 2 deaths recorded in the column for Passengers were cases of sudden termination of life from acute illness.

Under "Negligence" are those arising from personal carelessness.

Under "Suicide" are cases with clear proofs of premeditated self-destruction.

TABLE No. 9. LIST OF CASUALTIES & ACCIDENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRAFFIC IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS DURING THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

Sections.	Derailments.			Collisions.			Failures.	Obstruction to the road and trains.		Trains Delayed.	Trains Stopped.	Violators of Railway Regulations.
	Carriage.	Waggons	Engines.	Carriage.	Waggons.	Engines.		Natural Causes.	Willful Acts.			
Tokyo Kobe Section...	2	24	10	2	6	5	152	10	37	25	36	128
Takasaki - Yokohama Section	—	4	3	—	1	—	7	1	2	—	10	—
Kanuzawa - Naoetsu Section	—	2	2	—	4	—	55	10	13	40	271	4
Total	2	30	15	2	11	5	214	21	52	65	320	132

NOTE.—By “Derailments” and “Collisions” are meant vehicles getting off the track or colliding with each other by negligence on the part of Pointsmen, Steam being in excess, &c.

By “Failures,” vehicle becoming disabled by over-heating of the axles, parts of machinery breaking or giving away, &c., is meant.

Obstructions to the road and trains mean impediments on the lines caused by storms, &c., or by persons wilfully placing stones, wood, &c., on them.

Delays of the trains, are interruption of their working brought about by these obstruction; the stoppages result from same causes.

Violators of Railway Regulations mean passengers who over-ride their station and fail to pay their fare, and those who otherwise act contrary to the Railway Regulations.

TABLE No. 11.—ROLLING STOCK RETURNS OF THE PRIVATE RAILWAY COMPANIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

	Locomotives.		Carriages.		Waggons.		Total.		Increase.	Decrease.
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.		
Nippon Railway Company	69	63	248	194	1,022	889	1,839	1,146	193	—
Hankai Railway Company	5	5	41	37	30	25	76	67	9	—
Iyo Railway Company	4	2	18	9	15	8	37	19	18	—
Kyomo Railway Company	5	5	22	21	54	51	81	80	1	—
Sanyo Railway Company	25	25	139	170	323	514	487	709	1	222
Sannki Railway Company	3	3	31	31	18	18	52	52	—	—
Kan ei Railway Company	10	10	68	68	77	75	153	153	2	—
Kobu Railway Company	3	3	16	14	48	28	67	45	22	—
Osaka Railway Company	7	7	51	51	109	97	170	155	15	—
Kyushu Railway Company	22	18	61	55	258	138	321	211	110	—
Hokkaido Railway Company	24	24	40	27	576	495	640	546	94	—
Chikuhō Kogyō Railway Co.	6	4	10	8	246	100	262	112	150	—
Kushiro Railway Company	2	—	3	—	19	—	24	—	24	—
Total	185	169	157	685	2,775	2,441	3,711	3,295	638	222

TABLE No. 10.

STATISTICS OF THE PRIVATE RAILWAY COMPANIES.

Items.		Nippon Railway Company.		Ryomo Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Kobu Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Sanyo Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Kyushu Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Kansai Railway Company.	
		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.	24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.
Operating mileage at the close of the fiscal year	Miles	592.0	592.0	50.75	50.75	—	22.77	22.77	—	137.52	143.24	5.52	136.61	136.61	—	59.5	59.5
Average operating mileage for the year	Miles	500.1	592.2	51.0	51.0	—	23.0	53.0	—	120.8	142.0	21.2	126.5	137.0	10.5	54.25	59.0
Amount of Capital at the close of fiscal year	Yen	18,000,000	20,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	—	900,000	900,000	—	13,000,000	13,000,000	—	7,500,000	7,500,000	—	3,000,000	3,000,000
Amount of paid up Capital at the close of the fiscal year...	Yen	17,994,102	19,196,940	1,500,000	1,500,000	—	810,000	810,000	—	7,009,662	7,020,000	10,338	5,663,480	5,700,000	36,520	2,818,310	2,820,000
Amount of Debt at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	810,000	765,000	—	—	—	—	30,000	30,000	630,000	525,000 *	105,000	277,180	311,781	34,601	—	—
Amount of Construction Expenditure at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	19,024,986	19,809,342	1,473,249	1,457,382 *	15,867	733,013	782,609	49,596	6,647,416	7,125,962	478,552	5,467,906	5,354,378	386,472	2,721,050	2,745,660
Amount of Unadjusted Construction Expenditure at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	960,691	402,202 *	548,489	314,360	107,688 *	206,672	29,865	—
Amount of Traffic receipts for the year	Yen	2,182,162	2,038,310	168,841	195,243	26,402	92,096	108,072	15,976	335,285	446,418	111,133	399,281	430,958	31,677	163,644	96,608
Amount of Miscellaneous receipts for the year	Yen	65,722	31,587	22,520	15,542 *	6,978	5,928	3,696 *	2,232	21,582	36,441	14,859	24,469	16,288 *	14,181	4,791	2,054
Amount of Working Expenditures for the year	Yen	1,157,956	923,438	85,582	86,508	926	37,992	35,891 *	2,101	156,395	203,111	46,716	177,629	206,848	29,219	87,620	41,370
Amount of Net receipts for the year	Yen	1,089,928	1,146,459	105,779	124,277	18,498	60,032	75,876	15,844	200,472	279,717	79,275	246,121	234,397 *	11,724	80,815	57,292
Rates of Dividends paid	Per cent.	9.05	10.0	6.3	7.	0.7	6.6	8.15	1.55	3.45	3.65	0.2	5.125	4.000 *	1.125	—	3.61
Ratio of the Net profit to the paid-up Capital	Per cent.	6.05 †	7.962	1.05	3.285	1.235	7.41	9.37	1.96	2.86	3.985	1.125	4.33	4.112 *	0.218	2.37 †	4.063
Average Earnings per mile	Yen	4,363	3,438	3,311	3,828	517	4,004	4,698	694	2,776	3,143	267	3,156	3,145 *	11	3,016	1,637
Average Working Expenditures per mile	Yen	2,315	1,557	1,678	1,696	18	1,652	1,560 *	92	1,295	1,430	135	1,404	1,509	105	1,615	701
Number of Passengers carried ..	Persons	4,872,557	4,250,064	1,005,181	1,095,112	90,281	363,759	419,426	55,667	1,403,311	1,956,023	552,712	1,426,157	1,333,034 *	93,123	524,064	275,688
Passenger receipts	Yen	1,301,597	1,231,528	118,841	135,486	11,645	69,727	75,356	5,629	289,864	349,156	68,292	327,620	325,134 *	2,786	119,937	77,654
Amount of Goods carried	Tons	459,870	432,150	67,002	92,213	25,211	33,322	53,015	19,693	86,553	167,201	80,648	80,931	122,796	41,862	65,924	29,407
Goods receipts	Yen	847,970	774,955	46,624	61,309	14,685	21,280	31,042	9,762	47,736	87,361	39,625	63,961	95,500	31,539	41,908	17,280
Total Train Mileage	Miles	1,732,536	1,511,884	161,860	187,688	25,828	86,337	93,124	6,787	450,000	688,850	238,850	376,871	522,170	145,299	194,947	122,554

* 9 Months, hence no comparison. † 6 Months, hence no comparison. ‡ Rate per Year.

Items.		Osaka Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Hankai Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Sanuki Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Iyo Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Chikuho Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Tanko Railway Company.		Increase Decrease (Decrease marked.)	Kashiro Railway Company.
		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		24th Fiscal year.	25th Fiscal year.		
Operating mileage at the close of the fiscal year	Miles	32.55	32.55	—	6.12	6.12	—	10.15	10.15	—	4.18	5.66	—	1.48	15.44	25.53	94.0	206.0	—	26.61
Average operating mileage for the year	Miles	32.1	33.1	0.9	6.2	6.2	—	10.2	10.2	—	4.20	5.25	—	1.5	15.6	18.0	82.3	161.0	—	26.8
Amount of Capital at the close of the year	Yen	2,300,000	2,300,000	—	330,000	400,000	70,000	300,000	300,000	—	—	—	—	1,000,000	2,500,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	200,000	—
Amount of paid-up Capital at the close of the fiscal year...	Yen	1,500,000	2,000,000	500,000	330,000	400,000	70,000	297,465	297,572	107	84,429	96,951	12,522	785,001	1,696,000	4,700,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	200,000	—
Amount of Debt at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	380,000	—	380,000	—	—	—	15,000	15,000	—	15,590	39,700	24,110	545,000	445,000	—	500,000	—	—	—
Amount of Construction Expenditure at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	729,361	1,844,540	115,179	358,033	407,354	49,321	301,026	304,428	3,402	58,269	135,319	77,050	1,061,757	1,749,820	4,314,336	5,032,322	170,000	—	—
Amount of Unadjusted Construction Expenditure at the close of the fiscal year	Yen	157,171	151,992 *	5,179	21,533	48,417	26,884	12,670	12,117 *	553	34,253	—	34,253	156,777	315,449	376,795	293,375	—	—	—
Amount of Traffic receipts for the year	Yen	176,431	215,134	38,703	65,437	88,929	3,492	30,054	29,391 *	663	13,566	17,565	3,999	26,471	83,116	464,969	423,649	4,494	—	—
Amount of Miscellaneous receipts for the year	Yen	1,588	4,340	2,752	1,339	578 *	761	690	705	15	827	987	160	10,940	581	30,052	22,497	—	—	—
Amount of Working Expenditures for the year	Yen	90,500	80,502 *	9,998	39,250	38,720 *	530	17,065	17,270	215	7,605	9,317	1,712	24,212	31,994	271,798	314,303	4,105	—	—
Amount of Net receipts for the year	Yen	87,518	138,972	51,454	47,526	50,788	3,262	13,688	12,825 *	863	6,787	9,235	2,448	13,198	51,704	223,223	131,843	388	—	—
Rates of Dividends paid.	Per cent.	5.	6.6	1.6	12	13	1	4.25	3.9 *	0.36	8.35	9.25	0.9	—	old 7 new 1.15	9	7.35	—	—	—
Ratio of the Net profit to the paid-up Capital	Per cent.	5.83	6.95	1.12	14.4	12.697	1.703	4.60	4.31 *	0.29	8.01	9.536	1.486 §	334	3.05 §	3.8	2.637 §	0.194	—	—
Average Earnings per mile	Yen	5,496	6,519	1,023	3,780	14,343	563	2,946	2,881 *	65	3,230	3,315	115	1,696	4,618 §	5,636	2,631	167	—	—
Average Working Expenditures per mile	Yen	2,819	2,439 *	380	6,331	6,245	86	1,672	1,693	21	1,881	1,774	37	1,552	1,777	3,295	1,952	153	—	—
Number of passengers carried ..	Persons	932,934	997,712	64,778	1,215,319	1,957,648	145,495	468,922	459,897 *	9,025	446,516	569,293	122,777	107,488	193,676	492,801	451,726	1,284	—	—
Passenger receipts	Yen	141,176	173,343	32,167	64,384	87,701	3,317	28,862	28,228 *	634	12,227	15,473	3,246	12,508	25,388	128,114	120,094	277	—	—
Amount of Goods carried	Tons	68,727	85,237	16,510	—	—	—	9,016	9,166	150	197,113	288,228	91,114	43,207	200,256	384,070	469,955	9,732	—	—
Goods receipts	Yen	33,730	39,340	5,619	1,053	1,227	173	1,028	889 *	139	1,329	2,092	753	13,676	57,173	336,286	302,627	4,196	—	—
Total Train Mileages	Miles	177,986	255,236	77,250	15,600	116,324	724	91,737	91,737 *	220	—	—	—	55,000	83,022	364,739	372,984	11,112	—	—

* 8 Months, hence cannot be compared. † 15 months, hence cannot be compared. ‡ 4 months only. § Rate per year.

1. Under "Unadjusted Expenditures" are included such items as Materials in Store, Monies abroad, Provisional Payments, &c., eventually to come under Construction Expenditures, but which could not yet be considered as such. 2.—The "Working Expenses" above given have been taken from the amounts placed under that heading in the respective reports of the different Companies. It should, however, be noted that the method of accounting in these companies is not uniform: whilst all other Companies include the Expenses of the head office in the Working Expenses, the Nippon and Chikuho Railway Companies do not do so; and the Osaka Railway Company includes the interest on its debts among the Working Expenses. 3.—The Nippon Railway Company has altered its fiscal year, and the accounts are now adjusted according to the calendar year, and the figures above given for the 25th fiscal year are for 9 months, from April to December, 1892. The Dividend of this Company is made up of the net earnings of its lines together with the Government subsidy. 4.—The Kansai Railway Company has not made up its semi-annual accounts for the latter half of the 25th fiscal year; as they are to remain over to be adjusted in June, 1893; the results of the working for only the first six months of the 25th fiscal year are given above. 5.—The Iyo Railway's accounts are made according to calendar years. 6.—The accounts of the Hankai Railway is the same, and the rate of the dividend paid was yen 10.70 on capital of yen 330,000, after paying a dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. on the new shares. 7.—The Tanko Railway Company's dividend is made up of the earnings from the mines, the railways, and the Government subsidy. 8.—The Chikuho Railway Company's rate of dividend was 8 per cent. for the new and 2.3 per cent. for the old shares in the first half of the year, and 6 per cent. for the new and nothing for the old shares in the latter half of the year.

RAILWAY MILEAGE IN JAPAN.

The following shows the mileages of the railways in operation and of those under construction in Japan at the present time:—

OPEN LINES.	
GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS—A	
	m. ch. m. ch.
Tokyo-Kobe	376.31
Ofuna-Yokosuka	10.03
Obu-Taketoyo	12.01
Maibara-Kanagasaki	31.01
X Nagahama-Fukutami	9.60
X Baba-Otsu	1.23
Takasaki-Naetsu	117.10
	557.49
NIPPON RAILWAY COMPANY—B	
Tokyo-Aomori	451.66
Shinagawa-Akabane	12.76
Omiya-Maibashi	51.14
Utsunomiya-Nikko	25.00
Iwakiri-Shiogama	4.23
X Utsunomiya-Akita	1.15
Oyama-Mito	41.45
X Mito-Nakagawa	0.62
Shinjuku-Hachinohe	3.30
	595.11
KOBU RAILWAY—C	
Shinjuku-Hachinohe	22.77
RYOMO RAILWAY—D	
Oyama-Maibashi	52.17
SANTO RAILWAY—E	
Kobe-Mihara	143.40
Mihara-Hiroshima	44.29
X Hiogo-Wadatsuki	1.64
	190.53
KIUSHU RAILWAY—F	
Muji-Kumamoto	121.31
Tosu-Saga	15.30
	136.61
KWANSEI RAILWAY—G	
Kinsatsu-Yokkaichi	49.25
Kameyama-Tsu	9.60
	59.05
OSAKA RAILWAY—H	
Osaka-Sakurai	29.10
Oji-Nara	9.38
	38.48
HANKUAI RAILWAY—I	
Osaka-Sakai	6.13
CHIKUHO RAILWAY—K	
Wakamatsu-Iizuka	24.38
Nakata-Kaneda	6.20
	30.58
SETTSU RAILWAY—L	
Amagasaki-Ikeda	8.35
IYO RAILWAY—M	
Takahama-Hiragawara	10.19
SANKI RAILWAY—N	
Marugame-Kotohira	10.15
SANGU RAILWAY—O	
Tsu-Miyagawa	23.58
HOKKAIDO RAILWAY—P	
Temiya-Horonai	56.02
Horonai-Yakushubetsu	4.39
Maroran-Sorachifuto	108.43
Sumagawa-Utsunomiya	8.64
Oiwake-Yubari	26.49
	204.39
KUSHIRO RAILWAY—R	
Shibetsu-Arasanobori	25.78
SANO RAILWAY—S	
Kudzu-Koshinagawa	9.50
	1,982.44
X Goods Trains only	
LINES UNDER CONSTRUCTION.	
GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS—	
Fukushima-Aomori	298.26
Tsuruga-Toyama	123.58
	422.04
KIUSHU RAILWAY—	
Kumamoto-Matsuyoshi	11.00
Saga-Tsukasaki	17.60
	28.60

KWANSEI RAILWAY—	
Yokkaichi-Nagoya	23.55
HOSHU RAILWAY—	
Gyohashi-Ikari	17.56
KAWAGOE RAILWAY—	
Kokubunji-Kawagoe	18.20
OME RAILWAY—	
One-Tachikawa	13.07
OSAKA RAILWAY—	
Tennoji-Mimeda	6.00
NANWA RAILWAY—	
Takata-Gujo	16.40
BANTAN RAILWAY—	
Shikama-Ikuno	29.00
SETTSU RAILWAY—	
Itami-Namase	6.00
BOSO RAILWAY—	
Sogano-Ozuna	11.39
NARA RAILWAY—	
Nara-Kyoto	26.00
KOBU RAILWAY—	
Shinjuku-Tidamachi	3.50
OTA RAILWAY—	
Ota-Mito	12.18
SOU RAILWAY—	
Honjo-Sakura	31.40
NANTO RAILWAY—	
Matsuyama-Gumaka	6.57
DOGO RAILWAY—	
Dogo-Asami and Matsuyama	3.06
Grand Total	675.52

NEW RAILWAYS PROJECTED.

Name of Railway.	Distance.	Estimated Cost.
	m. ch.	Yen.
KOBU RAILWAY—		
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Hidamachi to Yorozyo-bashi (Tokyo)	1.18	160,000
Line—Yot-suya via Akasaka to Hidamachi (Tokyo)	5.12	1,500,000
TOYOKAWA RAILWAY—		
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Shimoji to Toyokawa	4.00	50,000
Line—Toyokawa to Shijo	8.00	100,000
Line—Toyokawa to Kokubu	4.00	40,000
SETTSU RAILWAY—		
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Oto to Sonobe, Ikuse to Mita	38.40	1,350,000
Line—Mimeda (Osaka) to Fushiki	34.00	1,500,000
Line—Mimeda (Osaka) via Yamaka to Maizuru	67.00	3,000,000
Line—Mimeda via Ayabe to Maizuru	69.40	3,000,000
RYOMO RAILWAY—		
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Maebashi to Shibu-kawa	11.00	300,000
OTA RAILWAY—		
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Mito to Ota	6.00	50,000
SOU RAILWAY—		
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Koiwa to Akabane	14.40	600,000
Line—Chiba to Hamano	4.40	20,000
Line—Hamano to Shigehara	12.40	250,000
Line—Sakura to Narita	15.00	300,000
Line—Ichikawa to Ense	17.00	425,000
Line—Narita to Choshi	30.00	900,000
Line—Senju to Okawaguchi	8.40	425,000
ISOMINATO RAILWAY—		
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Mito to Iwai	7.64	200,000
GOYU RAILWAY—		
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Goyu to Toyokawa	6.00	75,000
OSAKA RAILWAY—		
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.		
Line—Sakurai to Hase	3.30	150,000

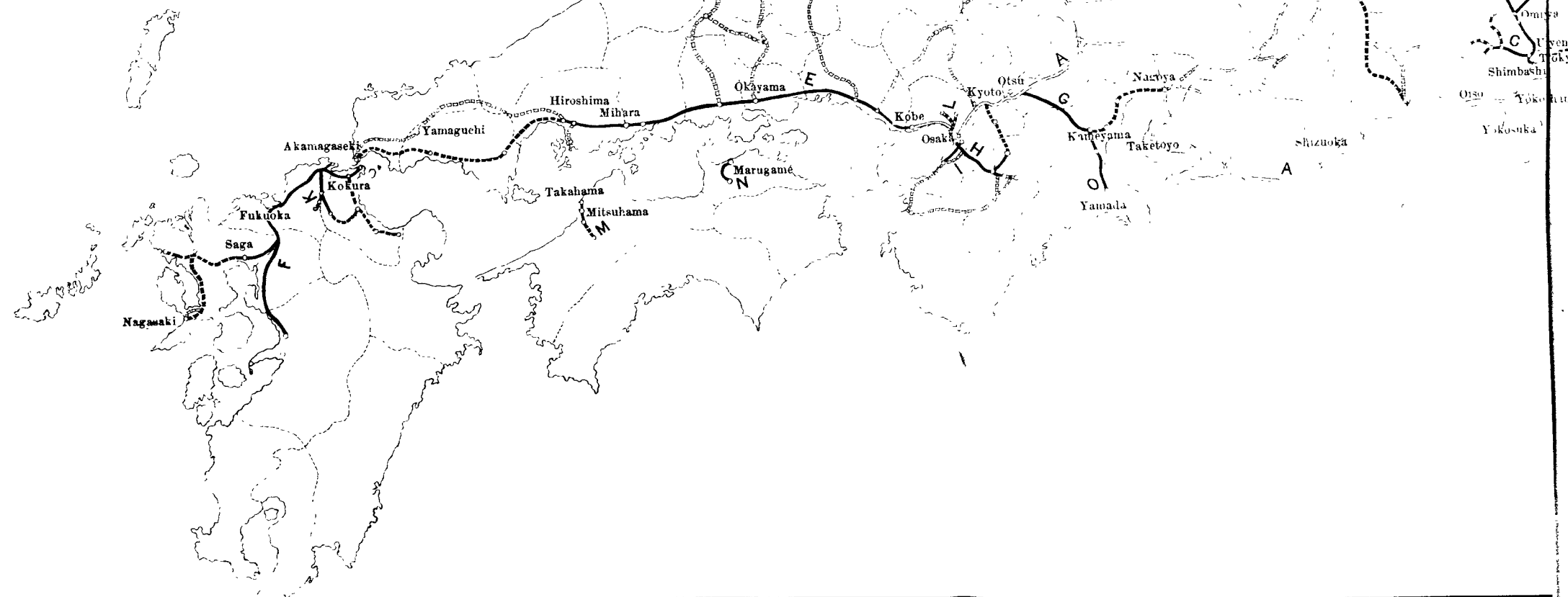
KYOTO RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Kyoto to Maizuru, Miyazu, Fukuchiyama and Wadaya	100.02 5,000,000
SAKURA RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakura to Naito	7.71 130,000
SHIMOSA RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakura to Sawara	20.40 500,000
KAYO RAILWAY—	
Gauge—2 ft. 9 ins.	
Line—Kashiwa to Mikkaichi	14.00 300,000
KIZU-NANIWA RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Kizu to Shijo	13.60 900,000
NIPPON RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Ueno to Shimabashi (Elevated through Tokyo)	3.60 5,000,000
Line—Mito to Iwanuma	139.30 5,640,000
Line—Nakazato to Sumida-gawa	3.00 450,000
HANKUAI RAILWAY—	
Gauge—3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Suzaki to Maizuru, and Fukuchiyama to Yushima	106.00 5,500,000
KIKU RAILWAY—	
Gauge—2 ft. 9 ins.	
Line—Kizu to Shijo, and Nagao to Yawatanachi	22.40 500,000
Line—Yawata to Shijo	— 250,000
HOKUWA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Nara to Shijo	13.00 600,000
KIWA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Gojo to Wakayama	31.20 1,400,000
FUSHIKI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Fushiki to Takaoka	4.40 110,000
CHIKUWA RAILWAY	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Okidome to Kawarajo	5.49 130,000
IGA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakurai to Toba	68.50 2,300,000
Line—Nobari to Ueno	11.00 200,000
FUTAMI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Uji to Yamada and Futami	5.00 136,000
DZUSO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 4 ft. 8½ ins.	
Line—Kodzu to Yumoto, and Numadzu to Nanjo	17.58 500,000
CHIKUSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Takaoka to Shirobata	20.00 220,000
BOSO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Ozuna to Tokane, and Ozuna to Ichinomiya	18.07 450,000
Line—Tokane to Yokaichiba, and Sogamachi to Chiba	18.51 450,000
KAIKYO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakae to Hashimoto	22.00 1,500,000
SANKI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Marugame to Takamatsu	17.19 500,000

CHIKUHO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Izuka to Usui	5.00 129,000
Line—Izuka to Harada or Tosu and Yamaka to Yoshii	21.00 1,224,834
SEISEI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sonezaki to Tenpozan	4.56 300,000
ARIMA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Kobe to Yuyama	15.00 300,000
YAMAGA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Yamaga to Ueki	10.00 265,000
KANO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Tsubata to Nanao	34.70 700,000
TOYO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Inaji to Matsuyama	28.00 300,000
KISIKU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Minatomachi (Osaka) Waka-yama	40.00 2,800,000
BANTAN RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Ikuno to Wadaya	13.40 500,000
OMI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Hikone to Fukagawa	26.00 1,000,000
KOTSUKU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Takasaki to Shinonita	16.60 230,000
HAKATA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 8 ins.	
Line—Hakata to Dazaifu	12.00 250,000
HOSHU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Ikari to Yageta	2.10 198,512
KASAO RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Hakodate to Shinoyu-awa	3.50 95,000
SETSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Amagasaki to Ajikawa-dori (Osaka)	4.00 300,000
SETSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakurai to Toba, and Kawai-dera to Tsu	90.00 4,500,000
BITSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Tsu-shima to Ichino-miya	10.00 200,000
NASSO RAILWAY—	
Line—Hamano to Futtsu	— 1,100,000
BITSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 2 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Tsu-shima to Nagoya	7.00 110,000
TOYAM RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Ebi to Maeshiba, Inanuma and Toyohashi	28.30 500,000

SAKATA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Sakataminato to Shinjo	31.00 1,000,000
JOSE RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Omiya to Kumgae and Tanaka to Ozawamachi	38.00 1,200,000
SATAMA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Kitadachigori to Oniya, and Chikidachigori to Oniya	50.00 1,500,000
HOKKAI RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Naetsu to Shibata via Niigata	95.00 3,700,000
GANETSU RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Koriyama to Niigata	115.00 7,500,000
NIIGATA RAILWAY—	
Gauge 3 ft. 6 ins.	
Line—Koriyama to Niigata	115.00 5,500,000

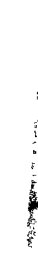
Totals 1,853,76 82,583,346

* Signifies proposed extension of lines already in operation
† Signifies extension proposed by Companies whose original lines are in course of construction and not yet opened for traffic. The others are entirely new projects.



THE JAPANESE RAILWAY SYSTEM. REMARKS.

- P. Private
- G. Government
- Lines open.
- Lines under construction
- Lines surveyed or Projected

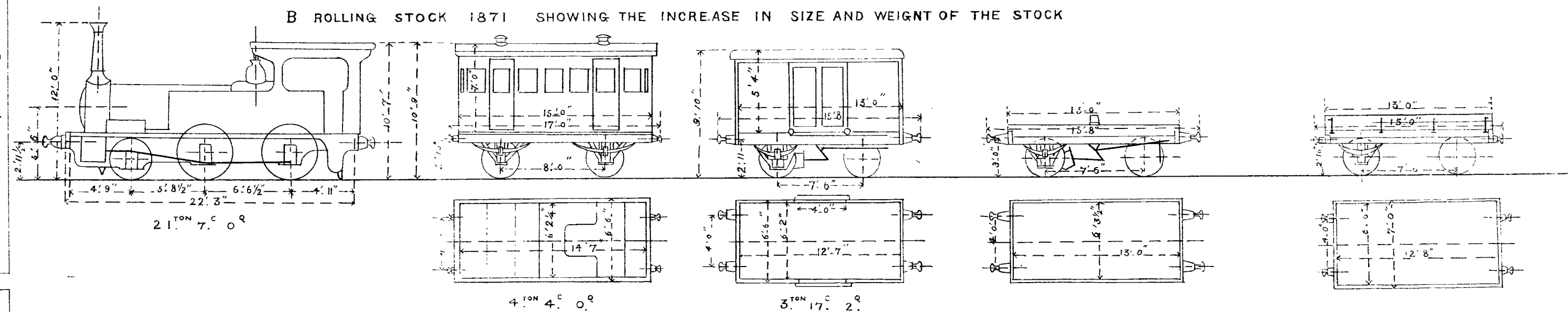
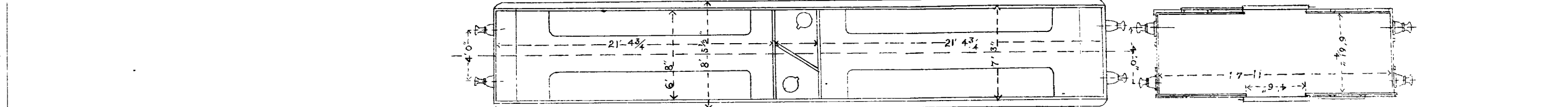
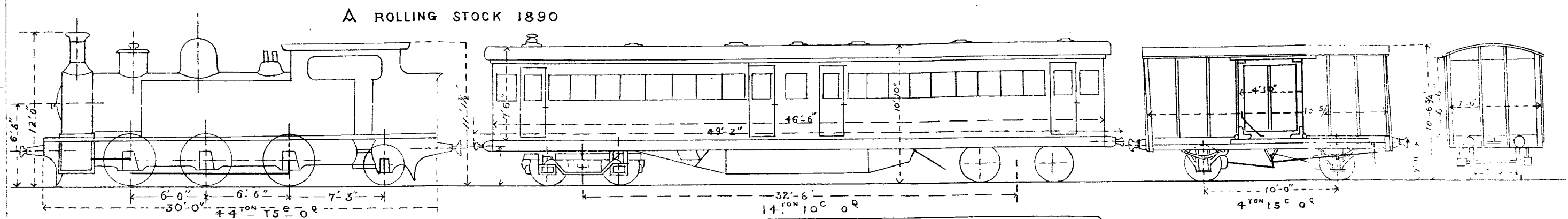


JAPANESE RAILWAYS.

LOCOMOTIVES

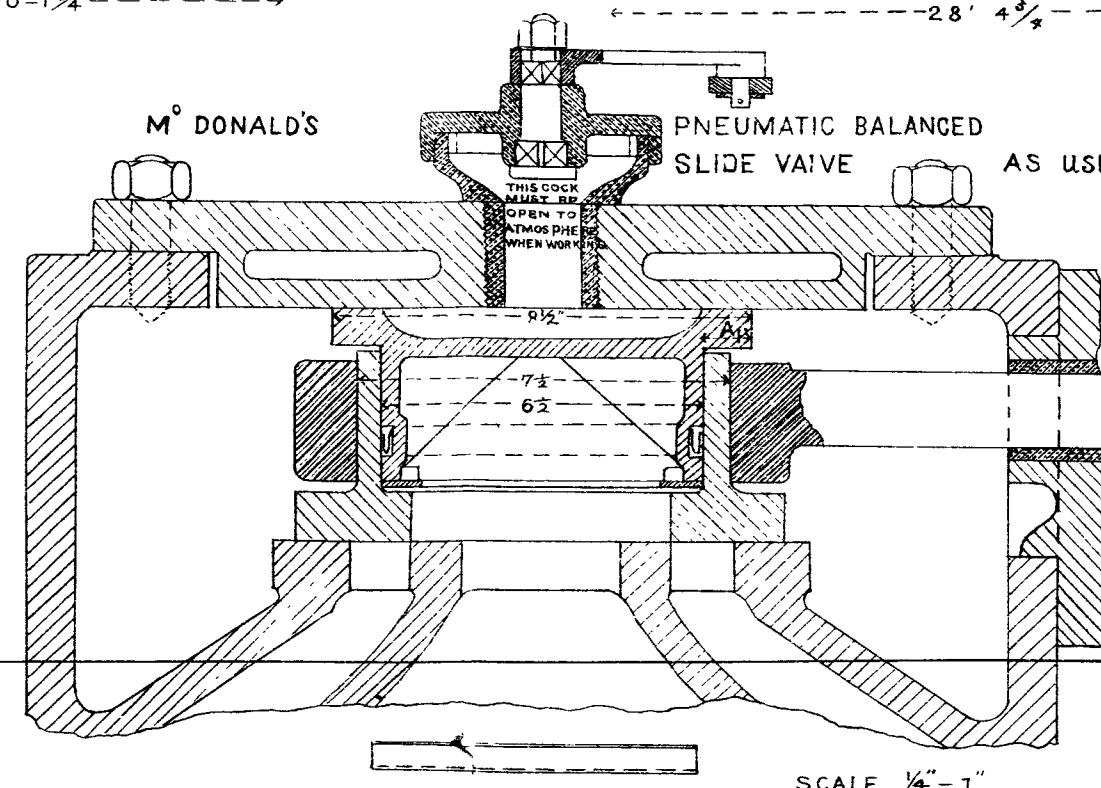
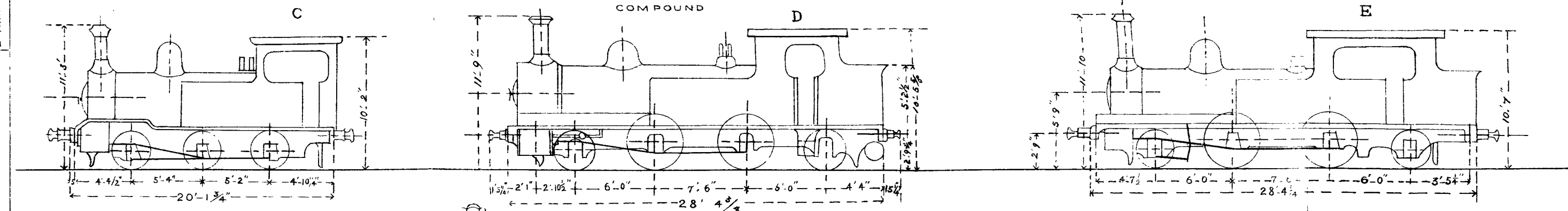
STANDARD CLASSES OF LOCOMOTIVES AND ROLLING STOCK FOR 3 FT 6 IN^c GAUGE.

DIMENSIONS		BANK ENGINE 1889	PASSENGER TANK ENGINE 1871	BALLAST ENGINE 1886	PASSENGER COMPOUND BUILT AT KOBE 1893	PASSENGER TANK ENGINE 1887	PASSENGER TENDER ENGINE 1893	BANK TENDER ENGINE 1893
CYLINDERS	IN	16 X 24	12 X 17	13 X 18	15 X 20	14 X 20	16 X 22	17 X 22
DIA ^r OF BOGIE WHEELS	FT IN	3 - 1					2 - 4	2 - 6
DRIVERS	"	4 - 0	4 - 3	3 - 0	4 - 5	4 - 4	4 - 6	4 - 0
TENDER	"						3 - 0	3 - 0
NUMBER DRIVERS		4	4	6	4	4	4	6
RIGID WHEEL BASE	FT IN	12 - 6	6 - 6½	10 - 6	7 - 6	7 - 6	8 - 4	12 - 6
TOTAL LENGTH OF ENGINE	"	30 - 0	22 - 7	23 - 0	31 - 8	32 - 1½	46 - 0	46 - 2
NUMBER OF TUBES		170	110	127	157	147	170	178
HEATING SURFACE OF BOILER	SQ FT	1009 5	531	496	763 57	724	908 39	991
FIRE GRATE AREA	"	14.8	7.5	3	12.4	12	14.27	17
BOILER PRESSURE	lbs	140	120	140	150	140	160	160
WEIGHT ON DRIVERS	TONS	37 - 5.0	17.20	21.0 - 1	21 - 10 - 0	19.5.2	20.12.0	37.150
TOTAL WEIGHT OF ENGINE	"	44.15	21.7.0	21.0 - 1	40.2.0	33.8.2	28.12.0	39.0.0
TENDER	"						22.0.0	22.0.0
CAPACITY OF TANKS	GALLONS	1716	500	450	987	1000	2000	2400
COAL	CWTS	34 CWTS	15 CWTS	1345 lbs	1.8 CWTS	1 TON	3 TONS	3 TONS

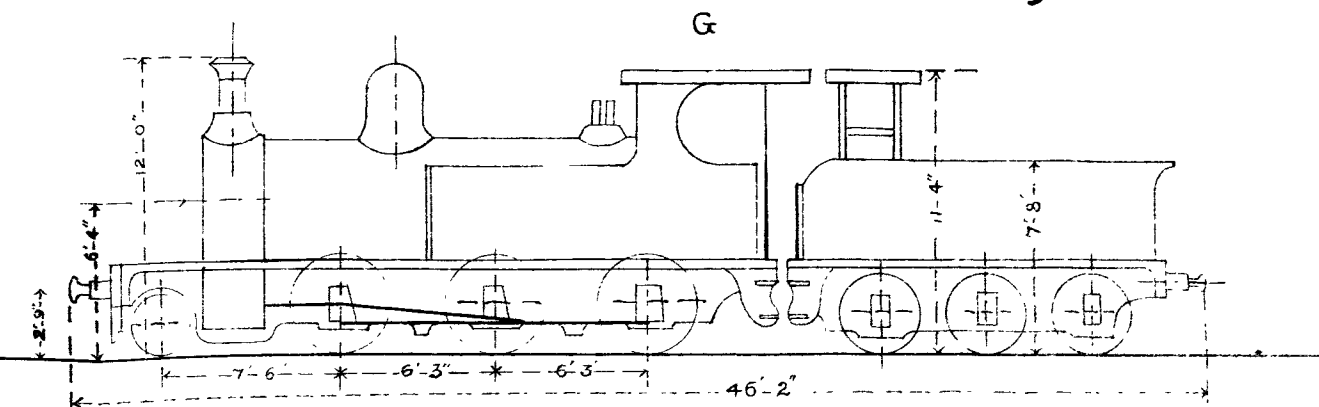
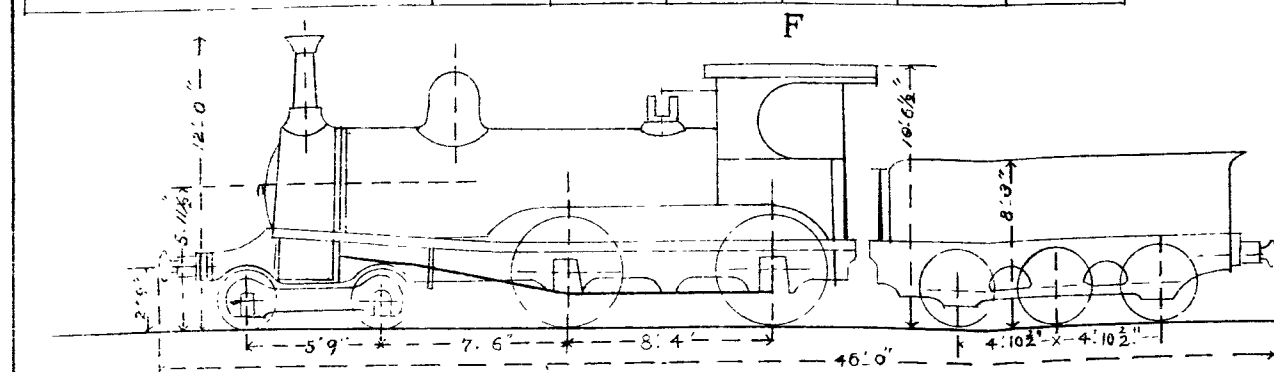


DIMENSIONS		NEW COVERED GOODS	OLD COVERED GOODS	OPEN GOODS WAGON 4 PLANK	GOODS-PASSENGER BRAKE VAN.	BOGIE CARRIAGE STANDARD	STANDARD CAR- RIAGE 2 PAIRS WHEELS
SOLE-BARS	FT-IN	17-6	12-6	17-6	24-0	46-4	23-0
WHEEL BASE	"	10-0	8-6	10-0	12-6		12-0
WEIGHT	TONS	4-15.0	3-17-2	3-18-0	7-10-0	14-16-1	6-10-0
INSIDE LENGTH	FT IN	17-11	12-11	17-6	22-0	46-0	23-0
WIDTH	"	6-6	5-10	6-10	6-10	6-8	6-8
HEIGHT	"	6-6	5-6	2-8	5-10	7-6	7-0
CUBIC CAPACITY	CB FT	757½	414¼	327½	875		

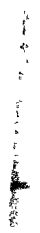
RAILS-STEEL. 30 FT LONG 62 LBS PER YARD.



J. H. Trevithick
April 1894



SCALE ¼" = 1"



THE POPULATION OF JAPAN IN THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD.

By GARRETT DROPPERS

I.

[*Read June 20, 1894.*]

It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into a long preliminary discussion of the theory of population, or even to bring forward new facts that will in any way seriously modify the form of the theory. Although it cannot be denied that the well known doctrine of Malthus is not held to-day in the precise sense in which it was promulgated, and although there are certain important facts to be considered of which Malthus did not speak, yet barring these modifications the theory is, I believe, substantially sound. It is in relation to this theory that I propose to examine the population of Japan, particularly in the Tokugawa period, extending say from 1615 to 1860, or about two centuries and a half.

Before specifically stating the problem which I wish to examine, it may be well to restate the doctrine of Malthus in a brief manner. As generally understood, his principal proposition is that in all countries that have attained a certain density of population there is a tendency for population to increase faster than subsistence, that this tendency is inhibited or regulated by

Year.			Population.
December 31—	1881	... ..	36,700,118
“ “	1882	... ..	37,017,302
“ “	1883	... ..	37,451,764
“ “	1884	... ..	37,868,987
“ “	1885	... ..	38,151,217
“ “	1886	... ..	38,507,177
“ “	1887	... ..	39,069,691
“ “	1888	... ..	39,607,234
“ “	1889	... ..	40,072,020
“ “	1890	... ..	40,453,461
“ “	1891	... ..	40,718,677
“ “	1892	... ..	41,089,940

These figures tell their own story. In the space of twenty-one years the population of Japan has increased from 33,000,000 to 41,000,000 in round numbers, or 8,000,000, an increase of over 1% a year. If this rate of advance were maintained, the population of Japan would double in the period of sixty years. It needs no further evidence, therefore, to prove that the Japanese are a very prolific people, whose inherent capacity for increase has in no wise been diminished by two centuries and a half of seclusion. Indeed, it requires but a short sojourn in the country to be thoroughly convinced that Japan is among the foremost nations of the world in this respect. The economical, yet convenient customs of the mass of the people for the care of their young, their healthful out-of-door life in most parts of the country, the age at which many children join their parents in productive occupations, their strong family attachments making it difficult for any one with family connections to be in absolute destitution, their simple standard of living, all go to show that the Japanese are a prolific race, not only because the birth-rate is moderately high, but also because the death-rate is low. It may be confidently affirmed that they have the racial qualities that fit them to engage in the competitive struggle of the

world. They cannot be classed in any way with those races who seem to dissipate in the presence of a different or more aggressive civilization.

It is not my intention, however, to enter into an investigation of the conditions and prospects of the present population of Japan. The object of this paper is a purely historical one, viz., to investigate the question of the population of Japan during the time known as the Tokugawa period. It need not be explained that during the greater part of this period Japan was a nation closed to the rest of the world. No foreigners could enter her ports or mingle with the people. The few Dutch and Chinese who engaged in trade were strictly confined to particular places, which were guarded to prevent them from mixing with the natives. From the time of the third Shōgun Iyemitsu to nearly the time of the downfall of the Shōgunate in 1867, it was death for a Japanese to leave the shores of Japan; and this law was mercilessly carried out.

The period of the Shōgunate was distinguished for its peaceful character. For several hundred years previous, Japan was the theater of civil war and tumults, in which thousands of her strongest and most efficient men lost their lives. It is hardly necessary during such a period of confusion and bloodshed to study the question of population. Not only the surplus number of people but even the necessary and effective number were killed off either directly or indirectly by wars. A state of society in which everything is subordinated to military prowess, as during the feudal period in Europe, or in which society is a prey to warring factions, as during the Thirty Years War in Germany, cannot advance and may even retrograde in wealth and population. But the Tokugawa period was in all respects different from these periods. It was without parallel the most peaceful era in the history of mankind. For nearly two centuries and a half

the whole of Japan was in a state when wars were scarcely more than a memory, and the military art was retained only by means of an elaborate etiquette. During this time the people had ample time to cultivate the industrial and other arts, and to develop the wealth of the country. That they did so needs hardly to be proved. Nearly all the works of art that have made Japan famous abroad, brocades, embroideries, lacquers, porcelains, etc., reached their highest point of development during the Tokugawa era. In industry and even in local commerce she made great progress. There was for that time an excellent system of communication throughout the country.

In such a time and under such circumstances as I have described, Japan would quickly reach the limits of her industrial development. The population would increase, the land would be occupied, agriculture would be pushed to its utmost extent according to the prevailing knowledge and customs of the times. But beyond this point the industrial development could not go. No outlet existed in the shape of foreign emigration for the increase of population. No foreign trade was permitted to give scope to new forms of industry, or to stimulate activities for which the country had peculiar advantages. Cut off from all foreign intercourse, Japan did not even suspect the existence of a more progressive civilization. The agriculture of the country was fixed by law. No man could sell his estate or change the character of its cultivation. The whole civilization was indigenous, was thrown back upon itself; and it requires no great effort to see that under such circumstances population could not increase beyond a certain limit. Every augmentation of numbers implied that the same amount of food must be divided among a greater number of mouths. To-day the pressure is relieved in a great variety of ways. Rapid increase of manufactures, new forms of agriculture, the cultivation of waste land,

emigration and colonization, an active foreign commerce ; all these serve to provide for the present rapid increase of population. But during the Tokugawa period there were none of these outlets. The limits of expansion were inelastic, and against the barriers fixed by physical conditions the population moved in vain.

The Tokugawa period, therefore, presents a highly interesting problem to the economist. On the one hand we find a people endowed with a strong natural capacity for increase, as is proved by the advancing rate of the present population. We find a country in a state of peace, undisturbed by foreign complications of any kind, and the people acquiescing in the status given them by their rulers. On the other hand we find the material conditions of the country as regards industry and agriculture in a state of arrested development, precluding the possibility of any great increase of population. What then was the practical outcome of these conditions, either in the laws, customs, or other circumstances of the people, by which they adjusted themselves to their environment ? What checks operated to prevent the people from degenerating to a lower standard of living, or a debased form of civilization ? In answering this question it is necessary to omit all the usual and prevailing causes that serve to restrain the increase of population in Japan at the present time, and to investigate only those checks that were active when Japan was sealed to foreigners and foreign trade.

II.

Unfortunately for the purpose of this inquiry we have no record of the population of Japan for the first century of the Tokugawa period. The idea of a

census was not unknown to Japanese rulers. It is recorded that in the era of *Taika* (645-649) the Emperor Kotoku, who adopted the Chinese system of giving a particular denomination (*nengo*) to a period of years, sent officials to all the provinces of Japan to record the number of the population for purposes of taxation. Subsequently at long intervals the census was taken by other rulers, but during the long period of civil war previous to the Tokugawa period the practice could not be carried into effect. It was not until the time of the eighth Shōgun Yoshimune, in the era of *Kioho* (1716-1735), that the census was resumed. In the sixth year of *Kioho* (1821), an edict was passed that each Daimyō should make an enumeration of the population within his domain and inscribe the number in the Government register. The edict declared that the samurai, the servants male and female of the samurai² (knight or warrior class), need not be included. Moreover, those below fifteen years of age could be omitted or counted according to the option of each Daimyō. It was also ordered that hereafter at intervals of six years a census should be regularly taken, beginning with the year 1726. The purpose of this census was probably to readjust the finances of the Shōgunate, as the government at the time was embarrassed for want of funds. (See Count Katsu's *Suijinroku*.)

At first glance it seems as if this census with its various omissions would be so faulty as to be almost worthless. But this upon close examination proves not to be the case. It is not difficult to get a pretty accurate estimate of the number of servants belonging to the samurai

² Because this class was not taxed.

class. Count Katsu, an excellent authority, puts the number of samurai at 350,000, and the average number of servants to each as three. Thus the whole number of servants omitted would be not far from 1,050,000, and we may consider this figure as approximately correct. Again, the same authority states that there were only two daimyō who omitted the children under fifteen from the census. One of them was Matsudaira Kaga no Kami, whose domain consisted of Kaga, Noto, Etchu, and part of Omi. His subjects numbered 576,734, and as we know that children under 15 years of age in Japan are about 30 per cent. of the whole population, the number omitted must have been about 240,000. The other exception was Matsudaira Oi no Kami, Daimyō of Bizen. His subjects numbered 396,500. He omitted all the children under two years of age, and if we take these to be equal to about 5 per cent. of the population, the number omitted cannot be far from 20,000. Some writers, moreover, add that the *Eta* and *Hinin* classes were also omitted from this enumeration, but on this point authorities conflict. We are therefore in doubt as to the precise number of the population that were not counted. But as the number omitted was a fairly fixed proportion of the number rendered, the mistake cannot be serious. The object of this paper is not as much to get the absolute population of the Tokugawa period, as the relative growth or decrease from year to year. As the omissions, whatever they were, were uniform, the number given in the government register must be considered on the whole perfect for my purpose. To this number Count Katsu would add 1,860,000, a number which I consider too small. It would be much nearer the truth to double this figure, say 3,720,000, and add it to the number returned in the registers. For those who are interested in discovering the precise population of Japan in the Tokugawa period, it is clearly necessary to add from two millions to three millions and a half

to the official figures, but as already stated, it is unimportant for the purpose of this paper. The following table gives the figures :

Year.	Number registered	Omissions (Count Katsu)	Omissions (My own).
1721	26,061,830	1,860,000	3,720,000
1726	26,548,988	"	"
1732	26,921,816	"	"
1744	25,682,210	"	"
1750	25,917,830	"	"
1756	26,061,830	"	"
1762	25,921,458	"	"
1768	26,252,057	"	"
1774	25,990,451	"	"
1780	26,010,000	"	"
1786	25,086,466	"	"
1792	24,891,441	"	"
1798	25,471,633	"	"
1804	25,517,729	"	"
1816	25,621,957	"	"
1822	Lost	—	—
1828	"	—	—
1834	"	—	—
1840	"	—	—
1846	26,907,625	"	"

It is to be regretted that we have no census between the time of the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty (1603) and the year 1721. *A priori* it is probable that the population increased very rapidly during this period of more than a century. It was a period of absolute peace following a period of the most relentless civil war, and usually at such a time, population for a while moves forward with great rapidity. What little statistical evidence we have supports this view. A few Daimyō in Japan kept records of the population previous to the year 1721, and in every case we find that our *à priori*

supposition is upheld by the records. For instance Shimazu, the Daimyō of Osumi, reports the population of his domain as follows :

The year 1698 the number was	...	...	...	260,961
“ “ 1732 “ “ “	...	...	...	339,955

Date, Daimyō of Mutsu :

The year 1690 the number was	...	...	...	599,241
“ “ 1698 “ “ “	...	...	...	617,323
“ “ 1732 “ “ “	...	...	...	647,427

Toda, Daimyō of Izumi :

The year 1665 the number was	...	...	...	252,061
“ “ 1690 “ “ “	...	...	...	284,126
“ “ 1732 “ “ “	...	...	...	287,388

Hachisuka, Daimyō of Awa :

The year 1665 the number was	...	...	...	308,880
“ “ 1688 “ “ “	...	...	...	385,751
“ “ 1732 “ “ “	...	...	...	470,512

It may be fairly inferred from the figures of these three provinces that the population of Japan expanded regularly during the 17th century, from the establishment of peace by the Tokugawa Shōgun Iyeyasu in 1603. But the influence of this long peace on the population, I believe, spent itself in the year 1721, when the first regular census was taken. The figures given in the government registers during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa régime prove that the population was virtually at a standstill. Between 1721 and 1804, a period of more than three-quarters of a century, there is an actual decrease of over 400,000 in the registered population, and from 1721 to 1846 the increase is less than 900,000. We may therefore conclude that during the greater part of the Tokugawa period the population of Japan did not materially increase in spite of the peaceful state of the country.

III.

In considering the causes that prevented the population from expanding during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa period, it will best serve my purpose to consider first what a Malthusian would call the positive checks, leaving the preventive or moral checks to later consideration. Among the most striking causes, restraining the growth of population at this time, is the recurrence of famines and other calamities of a similar nature. At present it may be fairly said that famines are impossible in Japan. The native supplies of rice can be readily supplemented whenever crops are short by purchases of supplies from foreign countries. Moreover, the government has established a famine relief fund especially devoted to the assistance of the people on occasion of short crops. For instance, the crop of rice in the year 1889 was only 33,000,000 *koku*, or 6,000,000 *koku* below the average crop. During the following year the government expended about 14,000,000 *yen* for foreign rice. Moreover, at present there are means of transportation to nearly all parts of the country, making it impossible for the price of rice to differ much in different parts. In the Tokugawa period all this was different. The various daimyō, with a few exceptions, pursued a narrow provincial policy and were quite willing to save themselves at the expense of the country, especially at critical moments. The country was not economically unified. It was difficult to transport commodities over the boundaries of a daimyō's territory. The cost of transportation was high, except along the sea coast, and thus it was impossible to carry goods like rice a long distance.

Accordingly, it need not surprise us to learn that famines of a general character were much more destructive, and local famines much more frequent than now. During the half century extending from the year

1690 to 1740, there are records of eight famines, of which four, those of 1702, 1710, 1721 and 1732 were very destructive. During the next half century (1741-1790) there were seven famines, of which those of 1749, 1757, 1780, 1783, and 1787 were destructive. During the next half century (1791-1840) there were six famines, of which those of 1825 and 1836 were destructive. Thus within a century and a half there were twenty-two famines, of which eleven were extremely severe. Beside famines there were other calamities which also affected the price of rice and the wealth of the people. Among others we may mention earthquakes, fires, floods, and epidemics. Floods and earthquakes, though still prevalent, are less injurious than formerly, because of the more efficient measures of relief. So also the epidemics that formerly spread through the country, especially along the great highways, were far more fatal in the Tokugawa times than at present, because of the almost total want of hygienic regulation as well as of the low state of medical science.³

What numbers of the people died from the effects of starvation in time of famine, it is wholly impossible to state. Even rough estimates are generally wanting. In small districts the number of people who starved to death are given by some writers, but the figures vary widely, often as much as one to ten. It is clear that the

³ Dr. Baelz, than whom there is no better authority on this point, writes as follows: "The diseases which caused the greatest ravages in old Japan were small-pox and measles. Both these diseases, being eminently contagious, were spread by the *daimyō* processions or by the traffic along the main arteries of the empire.

"Next in importance came dysentery and probably typhus fever, the latter particularly in time of famine. Cholera was unknown in Japan as in Europe up to this century. Typhoid fever appears to have existed in Japan, but it did not have the fatal character of the above mentioned diseases."

science of statistics was not a passion of either the government or the people during the Tokugawa régime. To give an idea of the terrible effects of some of the more severe famines and other calamities that raged during the Tokugawa period, I will give accounts taken from contemporary writers. A good example is the famine of the year 1732.

During the year 1731 the rice of the western half of the country was much injured by a small fly. The damage was greatest in the Sanyodo, Sanindo and Shikoku. Many people died of starvation. The government opened its granaries and in Yedo distributed rice to the needy, two *go*⁴ to each man and one *go* to each woman *per diem*. It also lent money to the Daimyō, so that they could take measures to relieve the distress. It was ascertained that the domains of forty-six Daimyō had produced only 628,000 *koku* of rice instead of the average 2,400,000 *koku*. The price of one *koku* was considered to be normal at 15 *momme* per *koku*, but during the year 1732 the prices in various places were as follows per *koku*:

Yedo ...	41 to 75 <i>momme</i>	Bitchu..	75 to 95 <i>momme</i>
Ōsaka...	58 " 120 "	Aki.....	71 " 80 "
Kiōto...	100 " — "	Nagato.	61 " 100 "
Idzumo.	52 " 108 "	Kii.....	130 " 140 "
Iwami..	72 " — "	Sanuki..	90 " — "

More than 2,646,000 people received relief from the government. One writer states that those who died from the effects of the famine were 200,000, while others give still higher figures.

In May, 1737, an epidemic disease broke out and was very destructive, especially along the Tōkaido. Both human beings and animals died in great numbers. In 1745, there was a disastrous fire in Yedo followed by another in 1746. In 1757, there were very bad crops resulting in partial famines, and in the same year a

⁴About 4 *go* make a quart.

destructive fire in Yedo. In 1758, there were great floods in the eastern part of Japan. In 1771, there was another fire in Yedo that destroyed 60 *cho*. In the following year, 1772, one of the most destructive fires recorded in the history of Japan occurred in Yedo. It raged for over three days during a heavy wind, extending from Azabu in the south to Senji in the north. It destroyed over 158 *cho*, or nearly two-thirds of the city, and caused many deaths. The next year a fatal epidemic of small-pox broke out, which finally extended to all parts of the country. In July there were storms and typhoons, causing floods in the provinces of Hizen, Higo and Chikugo. In August a typhoon destroyed a great many houses between Mino and Bizen, and many people lost their lives. In the next year a terrific storm raged for several days in the same district and killed about 1200 people in the harbor of Ōsaka alone.

One of the most destructive famines ever recorded in the annals of Japan is the famine of Temmei (1781-1788). Famines, however, were not the only calamity recorded of this period; it was filled with disasters of every description. From February to April in the year 1783, there were a number of fires in Yedo, Kyōto, and other parts of the country due to the great drought. From April to June rain fell incessantly, causing many floods and doing great damage to the crops. The price of rice advanced, especially in the northern provinces, and finally reached fabulous rates. In July the crater of the volcano Asama threw forth ashes and lava and destroyed thirty-six villages and 35,000 people. The Tone river was filled with dead bodies and with the debris of trees and houses. The famine began to spread and extended to all parts of the country. The following account is taken from a work of Shirakawa Rakuo, the well known Minister of Finance of the 11th Shōgun Iyenari: The famine of the 3rd year of Temmei

(1783) was particularly severe in the northern part of the country. A trustworthy man, who had travelled in this district, told me that in a village which had previously contained 800 houses there were only 30 left, the inhabitants of the rest all having died. Having entered a village in which the houses seemed to be larger and more numerous than usual, he proposed to rest there for the night. He soon discovered, however, that not a single house was inhabited, but in all the houses he saw bones and skulls scattered about the floor. As he went on he saw innumerable bones and skulls by the roadside. He met a man leading a pack-horse on the road, who said that he could survive without eating the flesh of human beings as he was supported by a rich uncle. In some places even those who abandoned themselves to eating human flesh could not find food enough to live. Great numbers starved to death. The price paid for a dog was 500 sen sometimes even as high as 800 sen, a rat 50 sen. A rare work of art found no purchasers and could not be exchanged for a *gō* of rice. If a person died he was of course eaten by the survivors. Those who died of starvation, however, could not be eaten, because their flesh decayed so soon. Some people, therefore, killed those who were certain to starve and put the flesh into brine so as to keep it for a long time. Among other people there was a farmer who went to his neighbor and said, "My wife and one of my sons have already died from want of food. My remaining son is certain to die within a few days, so I wish to kill him while his flesh is still eatable, but being his father, I do not dare to raise the sword against him, so I beg you to kill the boy for me." The neighbour agreed to do this, but stipulated that he should get a part of the flesh as a reward for his service. This was agreed to and the neighbor at once killed the boy. As soon as the deed was done, the farmer, who stood by, struck his neighbor with a sword and killed him, saying that he was very

glad to avenge his son and at the same time have double the quantity of food.' These are a few of the terrible stories told of the great famine of Temmei. "In these times," says our author, "stealing and incendiarism were not considered wrong and went unpunished."

The year 1784 was one of misery and starvation, but the next year 1785 was no better. The crops of the Kinai district (the five provinces around Kyōto) were very poor because of the lack of rain. In the next two years the state of things was worse than ever. An excellent account of the condition of the times is furnished by Bakin, the famous novelist of Japan, who died about seventy years ago. I select a few extracts from this account :

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 1st of January,⁵ 1786, there was an eclipse of the sun, and the people were much frightened to see such a portent on this great holiday. On the same day a fire broke out in Yedo which destroyed forty *cho*. Rain had not fallen for some time, and after this fires continued to break out here and there, often two or three times a day. People became more and more frightened. Those who had godowns (store-houses) put all their goods into them and left nothing in the house, while those who did not have godowns tied up all possessions in bundles, or packed them into boxes. Every one seemed to be waiting for fires. This state of things continued until April, after which the rumors of fires became fainter. On the 12th of July a heavy rain began falling and continued without interruption for four days and nights. On the 16th the Sumida river overflowed and the water rose until Honjo, Fukagawa, Shiba, Susaki, both sides of the Tategawa, Ushijima, Yanagishima, Shitaya, Asakusa and Kanda were all under water. Fortunately, as my house stood

⁵ The months hereafter mentioned do not correspond to the same months of our calendar year.

on high ground my family were safe. I went out to visit my relations, but found it was forbidden to cross any of the bridges. People went about from street to street in boats, but in spite of all precautions many were drowned, especially in Koishikawa and Ushigome." He then gives a very moving picture of the death of one of his friends by drowning. In addition to all these calamities the Shōgun (Iyeharu, the 10th Shōgun) died, and a period of mourning made the prevailing gloom still darker.

The next year the price of rice rose higher than before. The price had been double the normal rate (100 copper *mon* for 6 *go*), but it soon rose until it became three and four times the normal rate (100 copper *mon* for 3 *go*). Sometimes rice dealers refused to sell at any price. As a consequence of the high price of rice, the price of barley, wheat and millet became proportionally high. "The causes of these difficulties," Bakin says, "were, (1) that a large farming district in Japan was ruined four years before (1783) by the eruption of Asamayama; (2) that the crops in the same year had been very poor in the northern districts of Japan; (3) that the crops of 1784 and 1785 had been below the average on account of earthquakes and floods; (4) that the crop of the year 1786 had been a total loss in some parts of the country through lack of rain. What made matters worse was that rice dealers, both wholesale and retail, for the sake of making larger profits had bought up all the rice, especially from the Samurai class. [In those times the Samurai were paid in rice, and received no money]. In many cases rice merchants over-reached themselves and stored the rice until it was worm eaten. The people noticed the avarice of these speculators and forestallers, and petitions were sent in to the government to force the dealers to sell their rice and not to store it. In May the *machi-bugyo*

(city governors) answered the petitioners, saying that they had examined the rice dealers and found that there was no rice to sell. Instead, the governors told them to use beans, peas, wheat, and millet. This advice did not satisfy the people and they began to abuse their rulers. This was the beginning of a series of riots. At the same time the rice dealers formed a union not to sell more than a certain amount (from 100 to 200 *mon*) to each person daily. Even this amount was sold only at certain fixed hours in the day, generally very early in the morning, so that men and women, young and old, who feared to be too late, gathered together in crowds in front of the rice shops, shouted and quarreled in their struggle to get their *quantum* of rice. After a time, however, the rice dealers refused to sell any rice at all, but, it is said, concealed it in their godowns. From this time there was really nothing left for the poorer classes to eat except a kind of sea-weed. Some rich men, such as Mitsui and Mitsukoshi, wisely put boiled potatoes in front of their stores and allowed apprentices under fifteen years of age, who ran errands for their masters, to eat as much as they pleased. In this way the consumption of rice was economised. But most people were in a wretched half-starving condition. Cattle and horses lay dead by the way-side. By June," he adds, "I saw dogs eating grass."

"On the night of the 20th of June a crowd of people (whence they came was never known) destroyed the house of a rice dealer in Kojimachi. This was the first act of destruction. After this mobs collected everywhere. On the 21st of June they destroyed the houses of rice dealers in Ushigome, Kamakura-gashi, Kotsuna-cho, Honfuno-cho, Kofune-cho, Nihon-bashi, Hon-cho, Odenma-cho, Bakuro-cho, Asakusa, Kaga-cho, Okuramaye, Saruya-cho, Torigoye and even Yama-no-shiku; on the 22nd they destroyed those of Komagome, Yushima and

Kanda; on the 23rd those of Honjo, Fukagawa and Dobashi; on the 24th those of Shitaya, Yanaka, Uyenô, Shiken-cho and neighboring districts. Thus all the houses and godowns of the rice dealers of Yedo were destroyed. Not a single rich man who sold or hoarded rice escaped. Besides the rice dealers, the sellers of *saké* (wine) and *mochi* (rice-bread) were attacked. On the 25th the work of destruction extended to the rice dealers of Shinagawa, Kawasaki and Kanagawa. The mobs usually consisted of from 50 to 100 men. At first they carried on their work of destruction by night, or very early in the morning. Most shop-keepers lit a candle in their shops to show that they were not rice dealers; the other shops were generally torn down and looted. Finally, however, the rioters became bolder and carried on the work of destruction by day. Sounds of crashing, shouts and clamor, were heard a long way off. "I saw," says Bakin, "the shop of a rice-dealer, called Mansaku, in Demma-cho, attacked by the mob. They cut open the bags of rice and scattered the grain on the street. Chests and boxes they broke to pieces and threw the contents out of the shop. Respectable women and children of the poorer class mingled with beggars and pickpockets and put the rice in their sleeves and bags. No one attempted to stop them or drive them away. The dealers were utterly helpless and did nothing to stop them. At last the government sent officers to quell the rioting, but they did not succeed in arresting any one. At the head of one of the most notorious mobs, was a young apprentice 15 or 16 years of age, who was so active that people were frightened at his mere appearance and thought that he must be a kind of hobgoblin, called *tengu*. As for the rest, no one knew who they were. The government finally gave orders that anyone might seize a rioter or even kill him if necessary. So every shopkeeper armed himself with a long bamboo spear in order to drive off the mob. But in

reality the measure proved futile. As soon as the mob came, the shopkeeper stood shivering at his own door helplessly watching them destroy his shop in his very presence. The same condition of affairs existed in Kyōto, Ōsaka, and the surrounding districts, so that it seemed as if the rioters acted in concert on some secret understanding. This, however, was not the case. In all these cities the houses and godowns of rice-dealers fell a prey to the fury of the mobs, until finally there was nothing left for them to destroy. Thus after about a month of this lawlessness the rioting came to an end.

“In the autumn of the year 1787, the government imported rice into Yedo from all parts of the country and offered it for sale as cheaply as possible. Moreover, the new crop of wheat and barley was harvested and helped to relieve the famine. A considerable quantity of worm-eaten rice which had been stored by speculators in out-of-the-way places also was sold about this time. Yet in spite of all these favorable circumstances, the price of rice remained for a long time double the ordinary price.”

In the absence of any careful statistics giving us trustworthy figures as to the amount of the crops and loss of life, these popular accounts are valuable for the light they throw upon the terrible suffering of the mass of the people in times of famine during the Tokugawa period. Nor need it be explained that these famines and other calamities either could not occur at all at present or would be mitigated in various ways. Of all the so-called positive checks to the growth of population in the Tokugawa period, undoubtedly rice-famines were the most important, either directly or indirectly. Directly, famine diminished the population by increasing the death rate. At such times not only do people die of starvation, but there is an increased mortality resulting from insufficient food or even from fear. Indirectly also, famines must have had a powerful effect upon the number of the population.

We know from statistics that even in a growing and rich country like the United States, the number of marriages diminishes in times of commercial depression. How much more likely then that a calamity which deprives a large part of the people of the necessities of life should banish the very thought of marriage and giving in marriage. At such times all the normal processes of life must have been interrupted. The instinct of immediate self-preservation held absolute sway in all its naked horror and annihilated for the time being the most powerful social and domestic ties. As for epidemic diseases in the Tokugawa period, though they probably caused many deaths, I am inclined to think that their influence in diminishing the population was of a minor and temporary character. It is noticed, for instance, by several writers that the Black Death in England in 1348-9, which probably destroyed one-third of the population, was followed by a very rapid growth of population in the succeeding years. After an epidemic the people who survive are probably more vigorous than ever, while after famines even those who survive are weaker than before. So also after famines all the people as a rule are poorer, and it takes some years for the people to recover the normal amount of wealth, while after epidemics the material conditions of life are easier for the mass of the people. Wages rise, and the people quickly forget their former disasters in the prosperity of the moment. The effects of famine therefore are far more lasting than those of epidemics, and may indeed, as they probably did in Japan, permanently effect the character of the people.

The fatal character of famines, as compared with epidemics or other calamities can, I think, be traced in the statistics of the population, as given on page 262. Just before the famine of 1732 the population of Japan, as recorded in the government registers, was 26,921,816. I have already explained how severe the famine

of 1732 was and how it extended to all parts of the country. Twelve years later (the census of 1738 is unaccountably lost) the population was reduced to 25,682,210, or about one million and a quarter less than in the former census. Again, not to mention too many instances, we may take the calamitous period of Temmei (1781-88). The census of 1780, a very prosperous year, gave the number as 26,010,000. During the next two years, when the crops were above the average, we may be sure that the population did not decrease; on the contrary there is a strong probability that it increased. Beginning with the year 1783 there is a series of famines culminating in the disastrous famine of 1787. According to the census of 1786 the population was returned as 25,086,466—a diminution of nearly a million in the short space of six years. That the effects of these famines was felt for many years is proved by the next census. The population in 1792, five years after the last and most terrible famine year, was returned as only 24,891,441. This is the lowest figure recorded in any census of the Tokugawa period and is a fitting culmination to an era, noted in the history of Japan, as a time of starvation and misery. Were there fuller and more accurate statistics, I think we should have the same result; viz., that the effects of famines in diminishing and weakening the population were far greater than epidemics and all other so-called positive checks combined.

IV.

The account of the famines and other calamities I have given of the Tokugawa period might easily convey the impression that it was, on the whole, a time of misery and distress. Such, however, except in occasional years, was not the case. The Japanese people are for the most part a contented and easily satisfied people; they have a capacity for extracting a great deal of pleasure out of

small things. They seem to order their lives in such a way as to escape great contrasts and tragedies. I am inclined, therefore, to think that what Malthus would call the preventive checks operated much more powerfully in the Tokugawa period than one might suppose. The most important preventive checks to population are of a more agreeable character than the positive checks. The former are, indeed, indispensable to every civilization, though in Japan during the Tokugawa régime some of these checks throw rather a dark shadow upon the humanity of the times. Of all the preventive checks the most important were sumptuary laws, customs of various kinds and public opinion.

(A.)—SUMPTUARY LAWS.

The general policy of the Tokugawa government was of a negative character. Its main purpose was to keep things as they were, to avoid changes of every sort, even those of a progressive character. When the people, for instance, suffered from famine, the government did not go to the root of the matter by developing the resources or reforming the political conditions of the country. The favorite method of the government was to pass sumptuary laws which restrained consumption. This is a general characteristic of all Oriental economy. Even to-day in Japan, in villages remote from modern influences, we see remnants of these old sumptuary laws. For instance, in some villages the following notice may be found: "Frugality is to be practised in this village for the next five years." Or again: "As we are to practice frugality in the coming five years, we are not permitted to make contributions to pleasures of any kind." Or, "As we are to be frugal we can give nothing to beggars." Thus in the Tokugawa period, the government was constantly issuing edicts enjoining the people to practise economy. For instance an edict of May 24, 1642, is to this effect:

"The clothing of men and women should be simple. According to law, village headmen may wear *tsumugi* (a strong but coarse silk) but nothing better, while farmers are to dress in cotton. Better quality of cloth shall not be used even for the *obi*."

"Tobacco shall not be planted this year either on private or government land."

May 26, 1842: "This year wine (*sake*) shall not be made in villages. If any one is discovered making it, his machinery and tools shall be confiscated."

In another year: "It is forbidden to sell *udon* (a kind of macaroni made of wheat flour) *soba* (a kind of macaroni made of buckwheat), *somen* (vermicelli), or *manju* (a kind of sweet cake)."

Again: "It is forbidden to make *tofu* (bean curd) this year." This edict was passed to lessen the consumption of beans.

Again: "Farmers must not eat rice too often." Such edicts as these are extremely absurd and droll to us at present, but we must remember that similar sumptuary laws were very common in Europe a few centuries ago. Moreover, these edicts probably did have some effect upon the people of that time, for otherwise why should we see the same laws passed year after year for centuries.

Sumptuary laws of this kind, I believe, must have had an effect upon the growth of population. They must have tended to stop marriages and all kinds of festivities. When an order came from the government that the people should not consume the usual quantity of rice or should abstain from certain customary luxuries or pleasures, the necessity for economy must also have stopped the wedding festivals and betrothals. People in those days, particularly the farmers, lived more closely to a given standard than at present. Any diminution from this standard was

more immediately felt than to-day, and sumptuary laws were a constant reminder that prudence must be practised.

(B.)—PUNISHMENTS FOR CRIME.

Other means⁶ whereby law in the Tokugawa period exercised a deterrent effect upon the growth of population in some degree was the severity of punishment for crimes. To-day the opinion is often expressed that punishments in Japan are unnecessarily mild, but in this respect the era of the Restoration is not a copy of the older régime. To epitomize the matter,—the Tokugawa government divided criminal punishments into six classes : (1) capital punishment ; (2) exile ; (3) banishment ; (4) beating ; (5) branding or tattooing ; (6) exposure. Of capital punishment there were five varieties : (1) slow decapitation with a bamboo saw ; (2) crucifixion ; (3) exposure of the head ; (4) burning at the stake ; (5) decapitation with a sword.

The first form of punishment, that of cutting off the head with a bamboo-saw, applied to conspirators (except those of very high rank) and to those who were grossly immoral (adultery, etc., under aggravating circumstances). The criminal was first wounded in the shoulder, then exposed for two or three days in the city, and finally his head was sawed off. Those who were burned at the stake or crucified were also previously exposed to the multitude. Exiled criminals were generally sent to a distant island for life, as for instance, to the seven islands of Izu. As regards the punishment of beating, criminals were given from 50 to 100 blows on the flesh. As examples of the severity of ancient compared with modern punishments, I may mention the following :

He who killed his master suffered decapitation with a bamboo saw and his head was exposed. He who killed

⁶ A positive check.

his parents was crucified. He who committed fornication or adultery with a superior in rank suffered decapitation, and his head was exposed, and he who committed theft either by deception or by forging a seal or by imitating a signature suffered the same punishment. Incendiaries were burned at the stake. Counterfeiters were crucified and their heads exposed. Monks who committed adultery or similar crimes were crucified. Quarreling, beating, and stealing, were punished with death, exile, or banishment, in proportion to the degree of the crime. Women who committed adultery were often made slaves or punished with death. Samurai and those above them in rank were generally not put to death but ordered either to kill themselves (*seppuku* or *harakiri*), or to confine themselves in-doors. In the latter case they also as a rule committed suicide (*seppuku*), as the order to stay in-doors was considered a great dishonor.

I have of course given only the barest outlines. All sorts of modifications of the above laws were issued at various times to meet particular necessities. For instance, the children of criminals were often executed. An edict, issued August 5, 1692, is as follows : "The children of criminals who have been executed either at the stake or by crucifixion or by exposure, shall suffer the death of their parent, except when they are below fifteen years of age and are proved not to have had any share in the crime. In the latter case they may be entrusted to a relative until the age of fifteen, after which they shall be exiled." Still other laws were issued that seem utterly preposterous to us at the present day. Thus the 5th Shōgun, who was very fond of dogs, caused an edict to be passed that whoever killed a dog should be beheaded. Under laws similar to this, many persons, it is said, suffered death.

As these laws were carried out with the utmost rigor in most cases, it is not too much to say that the

severity of punishments during the Tokugawa era was at least a minor check to the growth of population. At present the death punishment is a rare exception in Japan. In the old régime it was possible at almost any time to see at stated places criminals undergoing capital punishment. Men are still living who remember the crucifixions, the exposure of heads, and similarly cruel punishments in the neighborhood of Tōkyō and of other large cities.

(c.)—PUBLIC OPINION AND CUSTOM.

The effect of public opinion and customs upon the family life and the marriage institutions of a people is extremely difficult to trace; and yet there is perhaps no more potent force in the life of the people. In many parts of Japan, notably Satsuma and other parts of Kiushu, a samurai never married before the age of thirty, and it was considered degrading to have a family of more than three children. The whole education of a samurai tended to make him stoical and distant to his wife and children. He seldom indulged in conversation with his family. He did not even hand an article directly to his wife, but placed it so that she could take it. This stoical attitude, it may be remarked, was not inconsistent with sincere respect and often a very high standard of family life. The doctrines of Confucius taught that the sexes ought to be separated early in life. Filial duty and loyalty were enjoined as the highest virtues, but affection for the wife was discountenanced. Accordingly the family of a samurai was usually small, consisting of seldom more than three children and often fewer. The same rule extended to the richer class of farmers and merchants, who accepted the doctrines of Confucianism instead of Buddhism.

But with the downfall of the feudal system these ideals and customs passed away. The clans were dis-

banded and the samurai class no longer had anything to foster the idea of loyalty. The sentiments of personal liberty took the place of the old ideals. Instead of living a frugal stoical life this class began to engage like others in the struggle for wealth. Accordingly we find a great change in the life of the samurai, and this change undoubtedly has had an effect on the size of families. Numerous individual instances of this change have come to my notice, and, as it is manifestly impossible to give statistical evidence on such a point, I can only point out the fact in a general way.

Among the common people of Japan, however, early marriages, though not universal, were the rule. While prudence was undoubtedly exercised to some extent, yet it was not strong enough to keep the population within the narrow limits imposed by the conditions of the country. Other practices arose, especially the practice of abortion. The laws of the Tokugawa government, while, as we have seen, extremely severe in some ways, were extraordinarily lenient in others. The practice of abortion is a good illustration. Though not legally permitted it was never interfered with, if those practicing it took the commonest precautions. Both in Kyōto and Yedo there were physicians who were noted for their skill in this practice. The houses in which they received patients were somewhat similar to the private hospitals of the present day. Abortion was also part of the business of midwives. The charges were very high and even the poor were expected to pay 5 *ryō*, an extraordinary fee for those times. Child-murder also was not at all uncommon in the old régime, though the law forbade it. In some districts it is said that girls were killed and only boys permitted to live.⁷

⁷One other cause which may have helped to retard the growth of population was the practice of pederasty. It existed chiefly in the south-western parts of the Empire. The boys were generally

In order to present a satisfactory account of all the causes that restrained the growth of population in the Tokugawa period, we must contrast the general mental and moral atmosphere of the people at that time with that of the present day. I have already indicated that the whole temper of the people took a different direction after the downfall of feudalism. The recurrence of famines and other calamities, though at first a positive check to population, in the end resulted in giving the people a cautious disposition, of which the relics exist even to-day. The Japanese people are often charged with being a short-sighted people in mercantile matters. They look more to an immediate than to a remote gain. They are deficient in the spirit of combination and in the organization of large enterprises. They have the habits of excessive timidity. I do not think these are original qualities of the Japanese people, but rather the result of the terrible experiences of the Tokugawa period. The terrors of famine, the irremediable epidemics, the severity of the criminal laws, all taught them to be satisfied with a little, be it but a pittance—without incurring the risks of new enterprises. These experiences probably gave them that air of pathetic resignation which we still see displayed among the lower ranks in the presence of death. As a people they bear losses of every kind more stoically than Europeans or Americans. By nature a spontaneously happy people, they have acquired the habit of submission to the inevitable. The European or American, untaught by such terrible experiences, opposes the most untoward circumstances and fights to the bitter

noted for their beauty and were often destined for the stage. They were generally nominal servants in the household of the samurai. There is frequent mention of the practice in the Tokugawa laws, which though forbidding it, did not stop it, and even to-day the practice is said to be not wholly extinct.

end. Three hundred years of fairly steady expansion have given him a more resolute habit of mind. When Japan, however, was thrown open to foreign influences, the bonds which had fettered the people so long began to yield. A freer and more enterprising temper took possession of the people. Old customs which restrained them gave way. Class distinctions were largely abolished. Many individuals of the poorer classes saw a chance of acquiring wealth or of gaining distinction in other ways. It is not difficult, therefore, to see that these altered circumstances influenced, to a greater or less degree, the whole temper of the people and stimulated the growth of population.

This change of temper has been accompanied by a breaking down of the old economic restrictions. The old prohibitions against the sale of land or against turning rice land into dry land and *vice versa* have been withdrawn. Waste land can be cultivated, forest land is often turned into arable, the transfer of land has been made easy. These revolutionary changes must have made a great impression on the people. They must have been an object lesson teaching them that all their old fears were groundless. As a result, we often see in juxtaposition in Japan the most curious inconsistent conditions. We see the most radical spirit of liberty existing side by side with the most conservative customs, the boldest recklessness with the most absolute timidity. But these inconsistencies have a cause in the historical conditions of the country. The new tendencies that began with the opening of the ports and increased with the Revolution in 1868 also stimulated the desire to accumulate wealth, and hence we find a greater indifference to the number of children in the family. Sooner or later, however, the question of population will come up again, and then the old solution of the question will be

useless. The whole spirit of the feudal system is fast departing and with it all the checks and balances that made it possible.⁸

⁸ In discussing the influences at work to limit the growth of population in Japan during the Tokugawa period, only the special causes operating at that time must be considered and not those general causes that still continue to operate. In this connection I may add that I have neglected to consider a point on which further investigation might be spent, namely, the relative amount of prostitution in the Tokugawa period as compared with that at the present time. Certainly during the last century of the Tokugawa régime sexual morality was at a very low ebb in Japan, at least in the large cities. Prostitution was practised far more openly and widely than it is at the present time. Luxury and effeminacy prevailed among nearly all classes of birth and wealth. I have been told by a Japanese who is well versed in all matters pertaining to the ancient régime that many of the *Hatamoto* class (special vassals of nobility attached to the Shōgun) had become so effeminate at the end of the Tokugawa period that they could neither walk nor ride. Another proof of the moral decline of Japan at this time is furnished by the extraordinary growth of pornographic pictures. Nearly all the later members of the *Ukiyo ye* school, such as Toyokuni, Hiroshige, Eisan, Utamaro and Hokusai, unquestionably men of the finest artistic ability, indulged more or less in this demoralizing business. Some of the scenes printed on the *Nishiki-ye*, as for instance those of the *Ryogoku-bashi*, give a vivid picture of the prevalence of the prostitute class. A great improvement has taken place in this respect in Japan. Mr. Chamberlain in his *Things Japanese* gives other instances of improvement in at least the outward morals and manners of the Japanese, since the introduction of Western standards. How far this sexual demoralization of the Tokugawa period retarded, and how far the modern advance has stimulated the growth of population is a matter I must leave to better judges than myself.

THREE POPULAR BALLADS.

[Read October 17, 1894.]

BY LAFCADIO HEARN.

I.

During the spring of 1891, I paid several visits to the settlement in Matsue, Izumo, of an outcast people known as the *Yama-no-mono*. Some results of that visit were subsequently communicated to the *Japan Weekly Mail*, in a letter published June 13th, 1891,—and some extracts from that letter I think it may be worth while to cite here, by way of introduction to the subject of the present paper.

“The settlement is at the southern end of Matsue, in a tiny valley, or rather hollow among the ring of hills which form a half-circle behind the city. Few Japanese of the better classes have ever visited such a village; and even the poorest of the common people shun the place as they would shun a centre of contagion,—for the idea of defilement, both moral and physical, is still attached to the very name of its inhabitants. Thus, although the pariah settlement is within half-an-hour’s walk from the heart of the city, probably not half-a-dozen of all the thirty-six thousand residents of Matsue have visited it.

“There are four distinct outcast classes in Matsue and its environs:—the *Hachiya*, the *Koya-no-mono*, the *Yama-no-Mono*, and the *Eta*, of Suguta.

"There are two settlements of *Hachiya*. These were formerly the public executioners, and served under the police in various capacities. Although by ancient law the lowest class of pariahs, their intelligence was sufficiently cultivated by police service and by contact with superiors, to elevate them in popular opinion above the other outcasts. They are now manufacturers of bamboo cages and baskets. They are said to be descendants of the family and retainers of Taira-no-Masakado-Heishino, the only man in Japan who ever seriously conspired to seize the imperial crown by armed force, and who was killed by the famous general Taira-no-Sadamori.

"The *Koya-no-Mono* are slaughterers and dealers in hides. They are never allowed to enter any house in Matsue except the shop of a dealer in *geta* and other foot-gear. Originally vagrants, they were permanently settled in Matsue by some famous Daimyo, who built for them small houses—*koya*—on the bank of the canal. Hence their name. As for the *Eta* proper, their condition and calling are too familiar to need any remarks from me.

"The *Yama-no-Mono* are so called because they live among the hills (*yama*) at the southern end of Matsue. They have a monopoly of the rag-and-waste paper business; and are buyers of all sorts of refuse, from old bottles to broken down machinery. Some of them are rich. Indeed, the whole class is, compared with other outcast classes, prosperous. Nevertheless public prejudice against them is still almost as strong as in the years previous to the abrogation of the special laws concerning them. Under no conceivable circumstances could any of them obtain employment as servants. Their prettiest girls in old times often became *jorō*; but at no time could they enter a *jorōya* in any neighbouring city, much less in their own, so they were sold to establishments in remote places. A *yama-no-mono* to-day could not even become a *kurumaya*. He could not obtain employment as a com-

mon labourer in any capacity, except by going to some distant city where he could conceal his origin. But if detected under such conditions he would run serious risk of being killed by their comrade labourers. Under any circumstance it would be difficult for a *yama-no-mono* to pass himself off for a *heimin*. Centuries of isolation and prejudice have fixed and moulded the manners of the class in recognizable ways: and even its language has become a special and curious dialect.

"I was anxious to see something of a class so singularly situated and specialized; and I had the good fortune to meet a Japanese gentleman who, although belonging to the highest class of Matsue, was kind enough to agree to accompany me to their village, where he had never been himself. But on our way thither he told me many curious things about the *yama-no-mono*. In feudal times these people had been kindly treated by the *samurai*; and they were often allowed or invited to enter the courts of *samurai* dwellings to sing and dance, for which performances they were paid. The songs and the dances with which they were able to entertain even those aristocratic families were known to no other people, and were called *Daikoku-mai*. Singing of the *Daikoku-mai* was, in fact, the special hereditary art of the *yama-no-mono*, and represented their highest comprehension of esthetic and emotional matters. In former times they could not obtain admittance to a respectable theatre; and, like the *hachiya*, had theatres of their own. It would be interesting, my friend added, to learn the origin of their songs and their dances. For their songs are not in their own special dialect, but in pure Japanese. And that they should be able to preserve this oral literature without deterioration is all the more remarkable from the fact that the *yama-no-mono* have always been totally uneducated. Even to-day they cannot avail themselves of those new educational opportunities the era of Meiji has given to

the masses ;—prejudice is still far too strong to allow of their children being happy in a public school. A small special school might be possible, though there would perhaps be no small difficulty in obtaining willing teachers.¹

“The hollow in which the village stands is immediately behind the Buddhist cemetery of Tokoji. The settlement has its own little Shintō temple. I was extremely surprised at the aspect of the place ; for I had expected to see a good deal of ugliness and filth. On the contrary, I saw a multitude of neat dwellings, with pretty little gardens about them, and pictures on the walls of the rooms. There were many trees ; the village was green with shrubs and plants, and picturesque to an extreme degree ; for, owing to the irregularity of the ground, the tiny streets climbed up and down hill at all sorts of angles, the loftiest street being fifty or sixty feet above the lowermost. A large public bath house and a public laundry bore evidence that the *yama-no-mono* love clean linen as well as their *heimin* neighbours on the other side of the hill.

“A crowd soon gathered to look at the two visitors who had come to their village—a rare event for them. The faces about me seemed much like the faces of the *heimin*, except that I fancied the ugly ones were much uglier, making the pretty ones appear more pretty by contrast. There were one or two sinister faces,—recalling faces of gipsies that I had seen ;—while some little girls, on the other hand, had remarkably pleasing soft features. There were no exchanges of civilities as upon meeting *heimin* :—a Japanese of the better class would as soon

¹ Since the time this letter to the *Mail* was written, a primary school was actually established for the *yama-no-mono*,—through the benevolence of Matsue citizens superior to prejudice. The undertaking did not escape severe local criticism, but it seems to have proved successful.

think of taking off his hat to a *yama-no-mono* as a West-Indian planter would think of bowing to a negro. The *yama-no-mono* themselves show by their attitude that they expected no forms, and they pay no greeting. Not the men at least; some of the women, on being addressed, made an obeisance, and thanked my companion for certain kindness as nicely as any of the common people could have done. Other women—weaving coarse straw sandals (an inferior quality of *zōri*)—would answer only ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to questions, and seemed to be suspicious of us. My friend also called my attention to the fact that the women dress differently from other Japanese women of the lower classes. For example, even among the very poorest *heimin* there are certain accepted laws of costume; there are certain colours which may or may not be worn according to the age of the person. But even elderly women among these people wear *obi* of bright red or variegated hues, and *kimono* of a showy tint. Those of the women seen in the city streets, selling or buying, are the elders only. The younger stay at home. The elderly women always go into town with large baskets of a peculiar shape, by which the fact that they are *yama-no-mono* is at once known. Numbers of these baskets were visible—principally at the doors of the smaller dwellings. They are carried on the back, and are used to contain all that the *yama-no-mono* buy:—old paper, old wearing apparel, bottles, broken glass, and scrap-metal.

“A kindly-faced middle-aged woman at last ventured to invite us to her house, to look at some old coloured prints she wished to sell. Thither we went; and were as nicely received as in a *heimin* residence. The pictures—including a number of drawings by Hiroshige, proved to be worth buying; and my friend then asked if we could have the pleasure of hearing the *Daikoku-mai*. To my great satisfaction the proposal was joyfully received; and on our agreeing to pay a trifle to each singer, a small band

of neat-looking young girls whom we had not seen before, made their appearance, and prepared to sing while an old woman made ready to dance. Both the old woman and the girls provided themselves with curious instruments for the performance. One or two had instruments shaped like mallets, made of paper and bamboo ; these were intended to represent the hammer of *Daikoku* ; they were held in the left hand, a fan being waved in the right. Other girls were provided with a kind of castanets,—two flat pieces of hard dark wood, connected by a string, and sounded by rapid tapping with the fingers. Six formed in a line before the house. The faces of all were both pleasing and characteristic. The old woman took her place facing the girls, holding in her hands two little sticks,—one stick being notched along a part of its length. By drawing it rapidly across the other stick, a curious rattling noise was made.

“ My friend pointed out to me that the singers formed two distinct parties—of three each ; and these carried different instruments and emblems. Those bearing the hammer and fan were the *Daikoku* band :—these sung the song proper,—the verses of the ballads. Those with the castanets were the *Ebisu* party, and formed the chorus.

“ The old woman rubbed her little sticks together, and from the throats of the three girls representing the *Daikoku* band, there rang out a clear and really sweet burst of song, quite different from anything I had ever heard before, while the three castanets kept exact time to the syllabification of the words, which were very rapidly uttered. When these three girls had sung a certain number of lines, the voices of the other three women joined in, producing a very pleasant, though, of course, untrained harmony ; and all sang the burthen together. Then the *Daikoku* party began again alone another verse ; and the first performance was reiterated. In the meanwhile

the old woman was dancing a very fantastic dance which elicited hearty laughter from the crowd, and occasionally chanting a few comic words.

"The song was not comic, however, itself; but a pathetic ballad entitled *Yaoya-O-Shichi*. Yaoya O Shichi was a beautiful girl who, many hundred years ago in Kyōto, set fire to her own house in order to obtain another meeting with her lover, residing in a temple where she expected that her family would be obliged to take refuge after the fire. But being detected and convicted of the terrible crime of arson, she was condemned by the severe law of that age to be burnt alive. The sentence was carried into effect; but the youth and beauty of the victim, and the motive of her offence, evoked a sympathy in the popular heart which found later expression in song and drama.

"While singing, none of the performers, except the old woman, lifted their feet from the ground—only slightly swaying their bodies in time to the melody. The singing lasted more than one hour—during which the voices never failed in their sweet fresh quality; and yet so far from being weary of it, and although I could not understand a word uttered, I felt very sorry when it was all over. One could listen to such singing all day. Certainly no singing I ever heard from the *geisha* could compare in charm with this simple ballad-singing of a despised out-cast class. And with the pleasure of it there came to the foreign listener also a strong sense of sympathy for the young singers—victims of a prejudice so ancient that its origin is no longer known."

II.

The foregoing extracts from my letter to the *Mail* tell the history of my interest in the *Daikoku-mai*. During the following year I was able to procure, through the kindness of my friend Nishida Sentaro, Esq., written copies

of three of the ballads as sung by the *yama-no-mono*; and translations of these were afterwards made for me. I now venture to offer my free prose renderings of them,—based on the translations referred to,—as examples of folk-song not devoid of interest. The renderings are not literal—though as nearly literal as I could make them, with the help of Japanese translators. An absolutely literal rendering, executed with the utmost care, and amply supplied with explanatory notes, would be, of course, more worthy the attention of this learned society. Such a version would, however, require a knowledge of Japanese which I do not possess,—as well as much time and patient labor. Were the texts in themselves of value sufficient to justify a scholarly translation, I should not have attempted any translation at all; but feeling convinced that their only interest was of a sort which could not be much diminished by a free and easy treatment, I presumed to undertake a simple prose version. From any purely literary point of view, the texts are disappointing,—exhibiting no great power of imagination, and nothing at all worthy to be called poetical art. While reading such verses we find ourselves very far away indeed from the veritable poetry of Japan, from those compositions which, with a few chosen syllables only, can either create a perfect colored picture in the mind, or bestir the finest sensations of memory with such marvellous penetrative delicacy. No: the *Daikoku-mai* are extremely crude; and their long popularity has been due, I fancy, rather to the very interesting manner of singing them than to any quality which could permit us to compare them for a moment with the old English ballads.

The legends upon which these chants were based still exist in many other forms,—including dramatic compositions. I need scarcely refer to the vast number of artistic suggestions which they have given; but I may

observe that their influence in this regard has not yet passed away. Only a few months ago, I saw a number of pretty cotton prints, fresh from the mill, picturing Oguri Hangwan making the horse Oni-kage stand upon a chessboard. Whether the versions of the ballads I obtained in Izumo were composed there or elsewhere, I am quite unable to say; but the stories of *Shūntoku Maru*, *Oguri-Hangwan*, and *Yaoya-O-Shichi* are certainly well-known in every part of Japan.

Together with these prose translations, I submit to the Society the original texts,—to which are appended some notes of interest about the local customs connected with the singing of the *Daikoku-mai*, about the symbols used by the dancers, and about the comic phrases chanted at intervals during the performances,—phrases of which the coarse humor forbids any English rendering.

All the ballads are written in the same measure,—exemplified by the first four lines of *Yaoya-O-Shichi*.

Koe ni yoru ne no, aki no shika

Tsuma yori miwoba kogasu nari

Go-nin musume no sannō de

Iro mo kawasau Edo-zakura.

The chorus, or *hayashi*, does not seem to be sung at the end of a fixed number of lines, but rather at the termination of certain parts of the recitative. There is also no fixed limit to the number of singers in either band: these may be very many or very few. I think that the curious Izumo way of singing the *Daikoku-mai*—so that the same vowel-sound in the word “*iya*” uttered by one band, and in the word “*sorei*” uttered by the other, are made to blend together,—might be worth the attention of some one interested in Japanese folk-music. Indeed I am convinced that a very delightful and wholly unexplored field of study offers itself in Japan to the student of folk-lore music and popular chants. The songs of the *Hōnen-odori*, or harvest dances,

with their queer burdens,—the chants of the *Bon-odori*, which differ in every district,—the strange snatches of song, often sweet, often weird, that one hears from the rice-fields, or the mountain slopes of remote provinces,—have qualities totally different from those we are accustomed to associate with the idea of Japanese music,—a charm indisputable even for Western ears, because not less in harmony with the Nature inspiring it than the song of a bird or the shrilling of *semi* or any of the rhythmic voices of the land. To reproduce such melodies, with their very curious fractional tones, would be no easy task, but I cannot help believing that it would fully repay the labor. Not only do they represent a very ancient, perhaps primitive musical sense: they represent also something essentially characteristic of the race;—and there is surely much to be learned in the course of time from the comparative study of such folk-music.

The fact, however, that none of those peculiarities which give so strange a charm to the old peasant-chants, are noticeable in the Izumo manner of singing the *Daikoku-mai*, would perhaps indicate that the latter are comparatively quite modern.

THE BALLAD OF SHŪNTOKU MARU.

“*Ara!*—*Joyfully young Daikoku and Ebisu enter dancing.*”

Shall we tell a tale, or shall we utter felicitations? A tale: then of what is it best that we should tell? Since we are bidden to your august house to relate a story, we shall relate the story of Shūntoku.

Surely there once lived, in the Province of Kawachi, a very rich man called Nobuyoshi. And his eldest son was called Shūntoku-maru.

When Shūntoku-Maru, that eldest son, was only three years old, his mother died. And when he was five years old, there was given to him a stepmother.

When he was seven years old his stepmother gave birth to a son who was called Otowaka-Maru. And the two brothers grew up together.

When Shūntō'u became sixteen years old, he went to Kyōto, to the Temple of Tenjin-Sama, to make offerings to the God.

There he saw a thousand people going to the temple, and a thousand returning, and a thousand remaining: There was a gathering of three thousand persons.²

Through that multitude the youngest daughter of a rich man called Hagagiyama was being carried to the temple in a *kago*.³ Shūntoku also was traveling in a *kago*; and the two *kago* moved side by side along the way.

Gazing on the girl, Shūntoku fell in love with her. And the two exchanged looks and letters of love.

All this was told to the stepmother of Shūntoku, by a servant that was a flatterer.

Then the stepmother began to think that should the youth remain in his father's home, the storehouses east and west and the graineries north and south, and the house that stood in the midst, could never belong to Otowaka-Maru.

Therefore she devised an evil thing, and spoke to her husband, saying:—"Sir, my lord, may I have your honored permission to be free for seven days from the duties of the household."

Her husband answered:—"Yes, surely; but what is it that you wish to do for seven days?" She said to him:—"Before being wedded to my lord, I made a vow to the August Deity of Kiyomidzu; and now I desire to go to the temple to fulfil that vow."

² These numbers simply indicate a great multitude in the language of the people: they have no exact significance.

³ *Kago*,—a kind of *palanquin*.

Said the master:—"That is well. But which of the manservants or maidservants would you have to go with you?" Then she made reply:—"Neither manservant nor maidservant do I require: I wish to go all alone."

And without paying heed to any advice about her journey, she departed from the house, and made great haste to Kyōto.

Reaching the quarter Sanjō in the city of Kyōto she asked the way to the street Kajiyamachi, which is the Street of the Smiths. And finding it she saw the smithies side by side.

Going to the middle one, she greeted the smith, and asked him:—"Sir smith, can you make some fine small work in iron?" And he answered:—"Aye, lady—that I can."

Then she said:—"Make me, I pray you, nine and forty nails without heads." But he answered:—"I am of the seventh generation of a family of smiths;—yet never did I hear till now of nails without heads, and such an order I cannot take. It were better that you should ask elsewhere."

"Nay," said she: "Since I came first to you, I do not want to go elsewhere. Make them for me, I pray, Sir smith." He answered:—"Of a truth, if I make such nails, I must be paid a thousand *ryō*."⁴

She replied to him:—"If you make them all for me, I care nothing whether you desire one thousand or two thousand *ryō*. Make them, I beseech you, Sir smith." Thus the smith could not well refuse to make the nails.

He arranged all things conformably to honor the God of the Bellows.⁵ Then taking up his first hammer

⁴The ancient *ryō* or tael had a value approximating that of the dollar of 100 *sen*.

⁵Fuigo Sama, deity of smiths.

he recited the Kongō-Sutra;⁶ taking up his second he recited the Kwannon-Sutra;—taking up his third he recited the Amida-Sutra,—because he feared those nails might be used for a wicked purpose.

So in sorrow he finished the nails. Then was the woman much pleased. And receiving the nails in her left hand, she paid the money to the smith with her right,—and bade him farewell, and went upon her way.

When she was gone, then the smith thought :—“Surely I have in gold *koban*⁷ the sum of a thousand *ryō*. But this life of ours is only as the resting-place of a traveller journeying; and I must show to others some pity and kindness. To those who are cold I will give clothing, and to those who are hungry, I will give food.”

And by announcing his intention in writings⁸ set up at the boundaries of provinces and at the limits of villages, he was able to show his benevolence to many people.

On her way the woman stopped at the house of a painter, and asked the painter to paint for her a picture.

And the painter questioned her, saying :—“Shall I paint you the picture of a very old plum-tree, or of an ancient pine?”

She said to him :—“No : I want neither the picture of an old plum-tree nor of an ancient pine. I want the picture of a boy of sixteen years, having a stature of five feet, and two moles upon his face.”

⁶ “Diamond Sutra.” The curious intermingling of Buddhist and of Shintō ideas in these ballads illustrates how the two faiths had become interblended and confused in popular fancy.

⁷ *Koban*. A gold coin. There were *koban* of a great many curious shapes and designs. The most common form was a flat or oval disk, stamped with Chinese characters. Some *koban* were fully five inches in length by four in width.

⁸ Public announcements are usually written upon small wooden tablets attached to a post; and in the country such announcements are still set up just as suggested in the ballad.

"That," said the painter, "will be an easy thing to paint." And he made the picture in a very little time. It was much like Shūntoku-Marū ; and the woman rejoiced as she departed.

With that picture of Shūntoku she hastened to Kiyomidzu ; and she pasted the picture upon one of the pillars in the rear of the temple.

And with forty-seven out of the forty-nine nails she nailed the picture to the pillar ; and with the two remaining nails she nailed the eyes.

Then feeling assured that she had put a curse upon Shūntoku, that wicked woman went home. And she said humbly, "I have returned" ; and she pretended to be faithful and true.

Now three or four months after the stepmother of Shūntoku had thus invoked evil upon him he became very sick. Then that stepmother secretly rejoiced.

And she spoke cunningly to Nobuyoshi her husband, saying : "Sir, my lord, this sickness of Shūntoku seems to be a very bad sickness ; and it is difficult to keep one having such sickness in the house of a rich man."

Then Nobuyoshi was much surprised and sorrowed greatly ; but, thinking to himself that indeed it could not be helped, he called Shūntoku to him, and said :—

"Son, this sickness which you have seems to be leprosy ; and one having such a sickness cannot continue to dwell in this house.

"It were best for you, therefore, to make a pilgrimage through all the provinces in the hope that you may be healed by divine influence.

"And my storehouses and my graineries I will not give to Otowaka-maru, but only to you, Shūntoku—so you must come back to us."

Poor Shūntoku, not knowing how wicked his step-mother was, besought her in his sad condition, saying:—"Dear mother, I have been told that I must go forth and wander as a pilgrim.

"But now I am blind, and I cannot travel without difficulty. I would be content with one meal a day in place of three, and glad for permission to live in a corner of some store-room or outhouse,—but I should like to remain somewhere near my home.

"Will you not please permit me to stay, if only for a little time? Honored mother, I beseech you, let me stay."

But she answered:—"As this trouble which you now have is only the beginning of the bad disease, it is not possible for me to suffer you to stay. You must go away from the house at once."

Then Shūntoku was forced out of the house by the servants, and into the yard, sorrowing greatly.

And the wicked stepmother, following, cried out:—"As your father has commanded, you must go away at once, Shūntoku."

Shūntoku answered:—"See, I have not even a traveling-dress. A pilgrim's gown and leggings I ought to have,—and a pilgrim's wallet for begging."

At hearing these words, the wicked stepmother was glad; and she at once gave him all that he required.

Shūntoku received the things, and thanked her, and made ready to depart, even in his piteous state.

He put on the gown and hung a wooden *mamori* (charm) upon his breast,⁹ and he suspended the wallet about his neck.

⁹ See Professor Chamberlain's *Notes on some Minor Japanese Religious Preachers*, for full details of pilgrimages and pilgrim costumes, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (1893). The paper is excellently illustrated.

He put on his straw sandals, and fastened them tightly, and took a bamboo staff in his hand and placed a hat of woven rushes upon his head.

And saying :—" Farewell, father :—farewell, mother :—" poor Shūntoku started on his journey.

Sorrowfully Nobuyoshi accompanied his son a part of the way, saying :—" It cannot be helped, Shūntoku. But if, through the divine favour of those august deities to whom that charm is dedicated, your disease should become cured, then come back to us at once, my son."

Hearing from his father these kind words of farewell, Shūntoku felt much happier, and covering his face with the great rush hat so as not to be known to the neighbors, he went on alone.

But in a little while,—finding his limbs so weak that he was afraid he could not go far, and feeling his heart always drawn back toward his home, so that he could not help often stopping, and turning his face thither,—he soon became sad again.

Since it would have been difficult for him to enter any dwelling, he had often to sleep under pine trees or in the forests; but sometimes he was lucky enough to find shelter in some wayside shrine containing images of the Gods.

And once in the darkness of the morning, before the breaking of the day, in the hour when the crows first begin to fly abroad and cry, the dead mother of Shūntoku came to him in a dream.

And she said to him :—" Son, your affliction has been caused by the witchcraft of your wicked stepmother. Go now to the divinity of Kiyomidzu, and beseech the Goddess that you may be healed."

Shūntoku arose, wondering, and took his way toward the city of Kyōto, toward the temple of Kiyomidzu.

One day, as he travelled, he went to the gate of the house of a rich man named Hagiya, crying out loudly, "Alms!—alms!"

Then a maidservant of the house, hearing the cry, came out and gave him food, and laughed aloud, saying:—"Who could help laughing at the idea of trying to give anything to so comical a pilgrim?"

Shūntoku asked:—"Why do you laugh? I am the son of a rich and well-famed man, Nobuyoshi of Kawachi. But because of a malediction invoked upon me by my wicked stepmother, I have become as you see me."

Then Otohime, a daughter of that family, hearing the voices, came out and asked the maid:—"Why did you laugh?"

The servant answered:—"O my lady, there was a blind man from Kawachi, who seemed about twenty years old, clinging to the pillar of the gate, and loudly crying 'Alms! alms.'

"So I tried to give him some clean rice upon a tray; but when I held out the tray toward his right hand he advanced his left; and when I held out the tray toward his left hand, he advanced his right: that was the reason I could not help laughing."

Hearing the maid explaining thus to the young lady, the blind man became angry and said:—"You have no right to despise strangers. I am the son of a rich and well-famed man in Kawachi and I am called Shūntokumaru."

Then the daughter of that house, Otohime, suddenly remembering him, also became quite angry, and said to the servant:—"You must not laugh rudely. Laughing at others to-day, you might be laughed at yourself to-morrow."

But Otohime had been so startled that she could not help trembling a little, and retiring to her room she suddenly fainted away.

Then in the house all was confusion : and a doctor was summoned in all haste. But the girl, being quite unable to take any medicine, only became weaker and weaker.

Then many famous physicians were sent for ; and they consulted together about Otohime ; and they decided at last that her sickness had been caused only by some sudden sorrow.

So the mother said to her sick daughter : " Tell me, without concealment, if you have any secret grief : and if there be anything you want, whatever it be, I will try to get it for you."

Otohime replied :—" I am very much ashamed ; but I will tell you what I wish.

" The blind man who came here the other day was the son of a rich and well-famed citizen of Kawachi, called Nobuyoshi.

" At the time of the festival of Tenjin at Kitano in Kyoto, I met that young man there, on my way to the temple ; and we then exchanged letters of love, pledging ourselves to each other.

" And therefore I very much wish that I may be allowed to travel in search of him, until I find him, wherever he may be."

The mother kindly made answer :—" That, indeed, will be well. If you wish for a *kago*, you may have one ; or if you would like to have a horse, you can have one.

" You can choose any servant you like to accompany you : and I can let you have as many *koban* as you desire."

Otohime answered :—" Neither horse nor *kago* do I need, nor any servant ; I need only the dress of a pilgrim, leggings and gown, and a mendicant's wallet."

For Otohime held it her duty to set out by herself all alone, just as Shüntoku had done.

So she left home, saying farewell to her parents, with eyes full of tears: scarcely could she find voice to utter the word "goodbye."

Over mountains and mountains she passed, and again over mountains; hearing only the cries of wild deer, and the sound of torrent-water.

Sometimes she would lose her way; sometimes she would pursue alone a steep and difficult path: always she journeyed sorrowing.

At last she saw before her—far, far away—the pine-tree called *Kawama-matsu*, and the two rocks called *Ota*:¹⁰ and when she saw those rocks, she thought of Shūntoku with love and hope.

Hastening on, she met five or six persons going to Kumano; and she asked them:—"Have you not met on your way a blind youth, about sixteen years old?"

They made answer,—“No, not yet; but should we meet him anywhere we shall tell him whatever you wish.”

This reply greatly disappointed Otohime; and she began to think that all her efforts to find her lover might be in vain; and she became very sad.

At last she became so sad that she resolved not to try to find him in this world any more, but to drown herself at once in the pool of Sawara, that she might be able to meet him in a future state.

She hurried there as fast as she could. And when she reached the pond, she fixed her pilgrim's-staff in the ground, and hung her outer robe on a pine tree, and threw away her wallet, and, loosening her hair, arranged it in the style called *Shimada*.¹¹

Then, having filled her sleeves with stones, she was about to leap into the water, when there appeared

¹⁰ One meaning of "Ota" in Japanese is "has met" or "have met."

suddenly before her a venerable man of seemingly not less than eighty years, robed all in white, and bearing a tablet in his hand.

And the aged man said to her:—"Be not thus in haste to die, Otohime! Shūntoku whom you seek is at Kiyomidzu San: go thither and meet him."

These were, indeed, the happiest tidings she could have desired: and she became at once very happy. And she knew she had thus been saved by the august favour of her guardian deity, and that it was the god himself who had spoken to her those words.

So she cast away the stones she had put into her sleeves, and donned again the outer robe she had taken off, and rearranged her hair, and took her way in all haste to the temple of Kiyomidzu.

At last she reached the temple. she ascended the three lower steps, and glancing beneath a porch she saw her lover Shūntoku lying there asleep, covered with a straw mat;—and she called to him, "*Moshi! moshi!*"¹²

Shūntoku, thus being suddenly awakened, seized his staff which was lying by his side, and cried out:—"Every day the children of this neighborhood come here and annoy me, because I am blind!"

Otohime, hearing these words, and feeling great sorrow, approached and laid her hands on her poor lover, and said to him:—

"I am not one of those bad mischievous children;—I

¹¹ The simple style in which the hair of dead women is arranged. See chapter "Of Women's Hair" in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*.

¹² An exclamation uttered to call the attention of another to the presence of the speaker,—from the respectful verb *moshi* "to say." Our colloquial "say!" does not give the proper meaning. Our "please" comes nearer to it.

am the daughter of the wealthy Hagiya. And because I promised myself to you at the festival of Kitano Tenjin in Kyôto, I have come here to see you."

Astonished at hearing the voice of his sweetheart, Shûntoku rose up quickly, and cried out :—" Oh ! are you really Otohime ? It is a long time since we last met—but this is so strange !—is it not all a lie ? "

And then, stroking each other, they could only cry, instead of speaking.

But presently Shûntoku, giving way to the excitement of his grief, cried out to Otohime :—" A malediction has been laid upon me by my stepmother,—and my appearance has been changed as you see :—

" Therefore never can I be united to you as your husband. Even as I now am,—so must I remain until I fester to death :—

" And so you must go back home at once, and live in happiness and splendour."

But she answered in great sorrow :—" Nay ! Are you really in earnest ? Are you truly in your right senses ?

" No, no ! I have disguised myself thus only because I loved you enough even to give my life for you :—

" And now I will never leave you—no matter what may become of me in the future."

Shûntoku was comforted by these words ;—but he was also filled with pity for her, so that he wept, without being able to speak a word.

Then she said to him :—" Since your wicked stepmother bewitched you only because you were rich, I am not afraid to revenge you by bewitching her also ;—for I, too, am the child of a rich man."

And then, with her whole heart she spoke thus to the divinity within the temple :—

" For the space of seven days and seven nights I shall remain fasting in this temple, to prove my vow ;—and if thou hast any truth and pity, I beseech thee to save us.

“For so great a building as this, a thatched roof is not the proper roof. I will re-roof it with feathers of little birds; and the ridge of the roof I will cover with thigh-feathers of falcons.

“This *torii* and these lanterns of stone are ugly: I will erect a *torii* of gold; and I will make a thousand lamps of gold and a thousand of silver; and every evening I will light them.

“In so large a garden as this there should be trees. I will plant a thousand *hinoki*, a thousand *sugi*, a thousand *karamatsu*.

“But if Shūntoku should not be healed by reason of this vow, then he and I will drown ourselves together in yonder lotus-pond;—

“And after our death, taking the form of two great serpents, we will torment all who come to worship at this temple, and bar the way against pilgrims.”

Now strange to say on the night of the seventh day after she had vowed this vow, there came to her in a dream Kwannon-Sama, who said to her:—“The prayer which you prayed I shall grant.”

Then Otohime awoke and told her dream to Shūntoku and they both wondered. They arose, and went down to the river together, and washed themselves, and worshipped the Goddess.

Then, strange to say, the eyes of blind Shūntoku were fully opened, and his clear sight came back to him, and the disease passed away from him. And both wept because of the greatness of their joy.

Together they sought an inn, and there laid aside their pilgrim-dresses, and re-robed themselves, and hired *kago*, and carriers to bear them home.

Reaching the house of his father, Shūntoku cried out:—“Honored parents, I have returned to you! By

virtue of the written charm upon the sacred tablet, I have been healed of my sickness, as you may see. Is all well with you, honored parents ? ”

And Shūntoku's father, hearing, ran out and cried :—
“ Oh ! how much troubled I have been for your sake !

“ Never for one moment could I cease to think of you ;—but now—how glad I am to see you, and the bride you have brought with you ! ” And all rejoiced together.

But, on the other hand, it was very strange that the wicked stepmother at the same moment became suddenly blind, and that her fingers and her toes began to rot—so that she was in great torment.

Then the bride and the bridegroom said to that wicked stepmother :—“ Lo ! the leprosy has come upon you !

“ We cannot keep a leper in the house of a rich man. Please to go away at once !

“ We shall give you a pilgrim's gown and leggings, a rush hat, and a staff ;—for we have all these things ready here.”

Then the wicked stepmother knew that even to save her from death, it could not be helped—because she herself had done so wicked a thing before. Shūntoku and his wife were very glad !—how rejoiced they were !

The stepmother prayed them to allow her only one small meal a day—just as Shūntoku had done ; but Otohime said to the stricken woman :—“ We cannot keep you here—not even in the corner of an outhouse. Go away at once ! ”

Also Nobuyoshi said to his wicked wife :—“ What do you mean by remaining here ? How long do you require to go ? ”

And he drove her out, and she could not help herself, and she went away crying to hide her face from the sight of the neighbours.

Otowaka led his blind mother by the hand ; and together they went to Kyôto, and to the temple of Kiyomidzu.

When they got there they ascended three of the temple-steps, and knelt down, and prayed the Goddess, saying :—
“ Give us power to cast another malediction ! ”

But the Goddess suddenly appeared before them, and said : “ Were it a good thing that you pray for, I would grant your prayer ; but with an evil matter, I will have no more to do.

“ If you must die, then die there ! And after your death you shall be sent to the hell, and there put into the bottom of an iron cauldron to be boiled.”

This is the end of the Story of Shūntoku. With a jubilant tap of the fan we finish so ! Joyfully,—joyfully,—joyfully !

THE BALLAD OF OGURI-HANGWAN.

*To tell every word of the tale,—this is the story of Oguri
Hangwan :—*

I.—THE BIRTH.

The famed Takakura Dainagon, whose other name was Kane-ie, was so rich that he had treasure-houses in every direction.

He owned one precious stone that had power over fire, and another that had power over water.

He also had the claws of a tiger extracted from the paws of the living animal ; he had the horns of a colt ; and he likewise owned even a musk-cat (*jako-neko*).

Of all that a man might have in this world, he wanted nothing except an heir, and he had no other cause for sorrow.

A trusted servant in his house named Ikenoshōji said at last to him these words :—

“ Seeing that the Buddhist deity Tamon-Ten, enshrined upon the holy mountain of Kurama, is famed for his divine favour far and near, I respectfully entreat you to go to that temple and make prayer to him ;—for then your wish will surely be fulfilled.”

To this the master agreed, and at once began to make preparation for a journey to the temple.

As he travelled with great speed he reached the temple very soon ; and there, having purified his body by pouring water over it, he prayed with all his heart for an heir.

And during three days and three nights he abstained from all food of every sort. But all seemed in vain.

Wherefore the lord, despairing because of the silence of the God, resolved to perform *harakiri* in the temple, and so to defile the sacred building.

Moreover he resolved that his spirit after his death, should haunt the mountain of Kurama,—to deter and terrify all pilgrims upon the nine-mile path of the mountain.

The delay of even one moment would have been fatal ; but good Ikenoshōji came running to the place just in time, and prevented the *seppuku*.

“ O my lord ! ” the retainer cried :—“ You are surely too hasty in your resolve to die.

“ Rather first suffer me to try my fortune, and see if I may not be able to offer up prayer for your sake with more success.”

Then after having twenty-one times purified his body, —seven times washing with hot water, seven times with

cold, and yet another seven times washing himself with a bundle of bamboo-grass, he thus prayed to the God :—

“ If to my lord an heir be given by the divine favour, then I vow that I will make offering of paving-blocks of bronze wherewith to pave this temple-court ;—

“ Also of lanterns of bronze to stand in rows without the temple, and of plating of pure gold and pure silver to cover all the pillars within !”

And upon the third of the three nights which he passed in prayer before the God, Tamon-Ten revealed himself to the pious Ikenoshōji and said to him :—

“ Earnestly wishing to grant your petition, I sought far and near for a fitting heir,—even as far as Tenjiku (India) and Kara (China).

“ But though human beings are numerous as the stars in the sky or the countless pebbles upon the shore, I was grieved that I could not find of the seed of man one heir that might well be given to your master.

“ And at last, knowing not what else to do, I took away by stealth [the spirit ?] of one of the eight children whose father was one of the Shiten-O, residing on the peak Ari-ari, far among the Dandoku mountains. And that child I will give to become the heir of your master.”

Having thus spoken, the Deity retired within the innermost shrine. Then Ikenoshōji, starting from his real dream, nine times prostrated himself before the God, and hastened to the dwelling of his master.

Ere long the wife of Takakura Dainagon found herself with child ; and after the ten¹³ happy months she bore a son with painless labor.

¹³ That is ten, by the ancient native manner of reckoning time.

It was strange that the infant had upon his forehead, marked quite plainly and naturally, the Chinese character for "rice."

And it was yet more strange to find that in his eyes four Buddhas¹⁴ were reflected.

Ikenoshōji and the parents rejoiced; and the name Ari-waka ("Young Ari"), was given the child—after the name of the mountain Ari-ari—on the third day after the birth.

II.—THE BANISHMENT.

Very quickly the child grew; and when he became fifteen, the reigning Emperor gave him the name and title of Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji.

When he reached manhood his father resolved to get him a bride.

So the Dainagon looked upon all the daughters of the ministers and high officials, but he found none that he thought worthy to become the wife of his son.

But the young Hangwan, learning that he himself had been a gift to his parents from Tamon-Ten, resolved to pray to that deity for a spouse; and he hastened to the temple of the divinity, accompanied by Ikenoshōji.

There they washed their hands, and rinsed their mouths, and remained three nights without sleep,—passing all the time in religious exercises.

But as they had no companions, the young prince at last felt very lonesome, and began to play on his flute, made of the root of the bamboo-grass.

Seemingly charmed by these sweet sounds, the great serpent that lived in the temple pond came to the entrance

¹⁴ Shitai-no-mi-Hotoke: literally a four-bodied-august Buddha. The image in the eye is called the Buddha: the idea here expressed seems to be that the eyes of the children reflected four instead of two images. Children of supernatural beings were popularly said to have double-pupils.

of the temple,—transforming its fearful shape into the likeness of a lovely female attendant of the Imperial Court, —and fondly listened to the melody.

Then Kane-uji thought he saw before him the very lady he desired for a wife. And thinking also that she was the one chosen for him by the Deity, he placed the beautiful being in a palanquin and returned to his home.

But no sooner had this happened than a fearful storm burst upon the capital, followed by a great flood; and the flood and the storm both lasted for seven days and seven nights.

The Emperor was troubled greatly by these omens; and he sent for the astrologers that they might explain the causes thereof.

They said in answer to the questions asked of them that the terrible weather was caused only by the anger of the male serpent, seeking vengeance for the loss of its mate—which was no other than the fair woman that Kane-uji had brought back with him.

Whereupon the Emperor commanded that Kane-uji should be banished to the province of Hitachi, and that the transformed female serpent should at once be taken back to the pond upon the mountain of Kurama.

And being thus compelled by Imperial Order to depart, Kane-uji went away to the province of Hitachi, followed only by his faithful retainer,—Ikenoshōji.

III.—THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS.

Only a little while after the banishment of Kane-uji, a travelling merchant, seeking to sell his wares, visited the house of the exiled prince at Hitachi.

And being asked by the Hangwan where he lived, the merchant made answer, saying :—

“I live in Kyōto, in the street called Muromachi, and my name is Goto Sayemon.

"My stock consists of goods of one thousand and eight different kinds which I send to China,—of one thousand and eight kinds which I send to India, and yet another thousand and eight kinds which I sell only in Japan.

"So that my whole stock consists of three thousand and twenty-four different kinds of goods.

"Concerning the countries to which I have already been,—I may answer that I have already made three voyages to India, and three to China;—and this is my seventh journey to this part of Japan."

Having heard these things O_guri Hangwan asked the merchant whether he knew of any young girl who would make a worthy wife,—since he, the prince, being still unmarried desired to find such a girl.

Then said Sayemon:—"In the province of Sagami to the west of us, there lives a rich man called Yokoyama Chōja, who has eight sons.

"Long he lamented that he had no daughter, and he long prayed for a daughter to the August Sun.

"And a daughter was given him; and after her birth, her parents thought it behoved them to give her a higher rank than their own,—because her birth had come to pass through the divine influence of the August Heaven-Shining Deity: so they built for her a separate dwelling.

"She is, in very truth, superior to all other Japanese women: nor can I think of any other person in every manner worthy of you."

This story much pleased Kane-uji; and he at once asked Sayemon to act the part of match-maker for him; and Sayemon promised to do everything in his power to fulfil the wish of the Hangwan.

Then Kane-uji called for inkstone and writing-brush, and wrote a love-letter, and tied it up with such a knot as love-letters are tied with.

And he gave it to the merchant to be delivered to the lady, and he gave him also, in reward for his services, one hundred golden *ryō*.

Sayemon again and again prostrated himself in thanks ; and he put the letter into the box which he always carried with him. And then he lifted the box upon his back, and bade the prince farewell.

Now although the journey from Hitachi to Sagami is commonly a journey of seven days, the merchant arrived there at noon upon the third day,—having travelled in all haste, night and day together without stopping.

And he went to the building called Inui-no-Goshyo, which had been built by the rich Yokoyama for the sake of his only daughter Terute-Hime,—in the district of Soba,—in the province of Sagami ;—and he asked permission to enter therein.

But the stern gate-keepers bade him go away,—announcing that the dwelling was the dwelling of Terute-Hime, daughter of the famed Chōja Yokoyama ; and that no person of the male sex whosoever could be permitted to enter ; and further more that guards had been appointed to guard the palace—ten by night and ten by day,—with extreme caution and severity.

But the merchant told the gate-keepers that he was Goto Sayemon, of the street called Muromachi in the city of Kyōto ;—that he was a well-famed merchant there, and was by the people call-d Sendanya ;—that he had thrice been to India and thrice to China, and was now upon his seventh return journey to the great country of the Rising Sun.

And he said also to them :—“ Into all the palaces of Nihon, save this one only, I have been freely admitted ;—so I shall be deeply grateful to you if you permit me to enter.”

Thus saying, he produced many rolls of silk, and presented them to the gate-keepers ; and their cupidity

made them blind ; and the merchant, without more difficulty, entered rejoicing.

Through the great outer gate he passed, and over a bridge, and then found himself in front of the chambers of the female attendants of the superior class.

And he called out, with a very loud voice :—" O my ladies, all things that you may require I have here with me !

" I have all *jorogata-no-meshi-dogu* ; I have hair-combs and needles and tweezers ; I have *tategami*, and combs of silver, and *kamaji* from Nagasaki, and even all kinds of Chinese mirrors !"

Whereupon the ladies, delighted with the idea of seeing these things, suffered the merchant to enter their apartment, which he presently made to look like a warehouse of female toilet articles.

But while making bargains and selling very quickly, Sayemon did not lose the good chance offered him ; and taking from his box the love-letter which had been confided to him, he said to the ladies :—

" This letter, if I remember rightly, I picked up in some town in Hitachi ; and I shall be very glad if you will accept it,—either to use it for a model, if it be written beautifully, or to laugh at if it prove to have been written awkwardly."

Then the chief among the maids, receiving the letter, tried to read the writing upon the envelope,—"*Tsuki ni hoshi*"—" *ame ni arare ga*"—" *koi kana*,"—

Which signified,—"*Moon and stars, rain and hail make ice.*" But she could not read the riddle of the mysterious words.

The other ladies who were also unable to guess the meaning of the words, could not but laugh ;—and they laughed so shrilly that the Princess Terute heard, and came among them, fully robed, and wearing a veil over her night-black hair.

And the bamboo-screen having been rolled up before her, Terute-Hime asked :—" What is the cause of all this laughing. If there be anything amusing, I wish that you will let me share in the amusement."

The maids then answered, saying :—" We were laughing only at our being unable to read a letter which this merchant from the Capital says that he picked up in some street. And here is the letter: even the address upon it is a riddle to us."

And the letter, having been laid upon an open crimson fan, was properly presented to the Princess, who received it, and admired the beauty of the writing, and said :—

" Never have I seen so beautiful a hand as this: it is like the writing of Kōbōdaishi himself, or of Monjū Bosatsu.

" Perhaps the writer is one of those princes of the Ichijō, or Nijō, or Sanjō families,—all famed for their skill in writing.

" Or, if this guess of mine be wrong,—then I would say that these characters have certainly been written by Oguri-Hangwan Kane-uji,—now so famed in the Province of Hitachi. . . . I shall read the letter for you."

Then the envelope was removed; and the first phrase she read was "*Fuji no yama*" (the Mountain of Fuji), which she interpreted as signifying loftiness of rank. And then she met with such phrases as these :—

Kiyomidzu kosaka (the name of a place); *arare ni ozasa* (hair on the leaves of the bamboo-grass); *itaya ni arare* (hail following upon a wooden roof);—

Tanoto ni kori (ice in the sleeve); *nonaka ni shimidzu* (pure water running through a moor);—*koike ni makomo* (rushes in a little pond);—

Inoba ni tsuyu (dew on the leaves of the tŕo); *shukunaga obi* (a very long girdle); *shika ni momiji* (deer and maple-trees);—

Futamata-gawa (a forked river);—*hoso tanigawa ni marukibashi* (a round log laid over a little stream for a bridge);—*tsurinashi yumi ni hanuke dōri* (a stringless bow, and a wingless bird)."

And then she understood that the characters signified :—

"*Maireba au*"—they should meet when he should call upon her. "*Arare nai*"—then they should not be separated. "*Korobi au*"—they should repose together.

And the meaning of the rest was thus :—

"This letter should be opened within the sleeve, so that others may know nothing of it. Keep the secret in your own bosom.

"You must yield to me even as the rush bends to the wind. I am earnest to serve you in all things.

"We shall surely be united at last whatever chance may separate us at the beginning. I long for you even as the stag for its mate in the autumn.

"Even though long kept apart we shall meet, as meet the waters of a river divided in its upper course into two branches.

"Divine, I pray you, the meaning of this letter, and preserve it. I hope for a fortunate answer. Thinking of Terute Hime, I feel as though I could fly."

And the Princess Terute found at the end of the letter the name of him that wrote it,—Oguri-Hangwan-Kane-uji himself,—together with her own name, as being written to her.

Then she felt greatly troubled,—because she had not at first supposed that the letter was addressed to her, and had without thinking read it aloud to the female attendants.

For she well knew that her father would quickly kill her in a most cruel manner, should the iron-hearted Chōja come to know the truth.

Wherefore through fear of being mingled with the earth of the moor *Uwa no ga hara*,—fitting place for a father in wrath to slay his daughter—she set the end of the letter between her teeth, and rent it to pieces, and withdrew to the inner apartment.

But the merchant, knowing that he could not go back to Hitachi without bearing some reply, revolved to obtain one by cunning.

Wherefore he hurried after the Princess even into her innermost apartment, without so much as waiting to remove his sandals, and he cried out loudly :—

“O my Princess ! I have been taught that written characters were invented in India by Monjū Bosatsu, and in Japan by Kōbōdaishi.

“And is it not like tearing the hands of Kōbōdaishi, thus to tear a letter written with characters ?

“Know you not that a woman is less pure than a man ? Wherefore, then, do you, born a woman, thus presume to tear a letter ?

“Now if you refuse to write a reply, I shall call upon all the gods,—I shall announce to them this unwomanly act ; and I shall invoke their malediction upon you !”

And with these words he took from the box which he always carried with him, a Buddhist rosary ; and he began to twist it about with an awful appearance of anger.

Then the Princess Terute, terrified and grieved, prayed him to cease his invocations, and promised that she would write an answer at once.

So her answer was quickly written, and given to the merchant, who was overjoyed by his success, and speedily departed for Hitachi, carrying his box upon his back.

IV.—HOW KANE-UJI BECAME A BRIDEGROOM WITHOUT HIS FATHER-IN LAW'S CONSENT.

Travelling with great speed the *nakodo* quickly arrived at the dwelling of the Hangwan, and gave the letter

to the master, who removed the cover with hands that trembled for joy.

Very, very short the answer was: only these words,—
Oki naka hune, “a boat floating in the offing.”

But Kane-uji guessed the meaning to be:—“As fortunes and misfortunes are common to all, be not afraid, and try to come unseen.”

Therewith he summoned Ikenoshōji, and bade him make all needful preparation for a rapid journey. Goto Sayemon consented to serve as guide.

He accompanied them; and when they reached the district of Soba, and were approaching the house of the princess, the guide said to the prince:—

“That house before us, with the black gate, is the dwelling of the far-famed Yokoyama Chōja; and that other house, to the northward of it, having a red gate, is the residence of the flower-fair Terute.

“Be prudent in all things, and you will succeed.” And with these words, the guide disappeared.

Accompanied by his faithful retainer, the Hangwan approached the Red Gate.

Both attempted to enter, when the gatekeepers sought to prevent them; declaring they were much too bold to seek to enter the dwelling of Terute-Hime, only daughter of the renowned Yokoyama Chōja,—the sacred child begotten through the favour of the deity of the Sun.

“You do but right to speak thus,” the retainer made reply. “But you must learn that we are officers from the city in search of a fugitive;—

“And it is just because all males are prohibited from entering this dwelling, that a search therein must be made.”

Then the guards, amazed, suffered them to pass, and saw the supposed officers of justice enter the court, and many of the ladies in waiting come forth to welcome them as guests.

And the Lady Terute, marvellously pleased by the coming of the writer of that love-letter, appeared before her wooer, robed in her robes of ceremony, with a veil about her shoulders.

Kane-uji was also much delighted at being thus welcomed by the beautiful maiden. And the wedding ceremony was at once performed, to the great joy of both, and was followed by a great wine feast.

So great was the mirth, and so joyful were all, that the followers of the prince and the maids of the princess danced together, and together made music.

And Oguri Hangwan himself produced his flute, made of the root of a bamboo, and began to play upon it sweetly.

Then the father of Terute, hearing all this joyous din in the house of his daughter, wondered greatly what the cause might be.

But when he had been told how the Hangwan had become the bridegroom of his daughter without his consent, the Chōja grew wondrous angry, and in secret devised a scheme of revenge.

V.—THE POISONING.

The next day Yokoyama sent to Prince Kane-uji a message, inviting him to come to his house there to perform the wine drinking ceremony of greeting each other as father-in-law and son-in-law.

Then the Princess Terute sought to dissuade the Hangwan from going there, because she had dreamed in the night a dream of ill omen.

But the Hangwan, making light of her fears, went boldly to the dwelling of the Chōja, followed by his young retainers.

Then Yokoyama Chōja, rejoicing, caused many dishes to be prepared containing all delicacies furnished by the mountains and the sea¹⁵ and well entertained the Hangwan.

¹⁵ Or "with all strange flavors of mountain and sea."

At last, when the wine-drinking began to flag, Yokoyama uttered the wish that his guest, the lord Kano-*uji*, would also furnish some entertainment¹⁶ [according to the custom].

"And what shall it be?" the Hangwan asked. "Truly," replied the Chōja, "I am desirous to see you show your great skill in riding."

"Then I shall ride," the Prince made answer. And presently the horse called Onikage¹⁷ was led out.

That horse was so fierce that he did not seem to be a real horse, but rather a demon or a dragon—so that few dared even to approach him.

But the Prince Hangwan Kano-*uji* at once loosened the chain by which the horse was fastened, and rode upon him with wondrous ease.

In spite of all his fierceness, Onikage found himself obliged to do everything which his rider wished. All present, Yokoyama and the others, could not speak for astonishment.

But soon the Chōja, taking and setting up a six-folding screen, asked to see the Prince ride his steed upon the upper edge of the screen.

The lord Oguri, consenting, rode upon the top of the screen; and then he rode along the top of an upright *shōji*-frame.

Then a chess-board being set out, he rode upon it, making the horse rightly set his hoof upon the squares of the chess-board as he rode.

¹⁶ The word is really *sakana*, "fish." It has always been the rule to serve fish with *saké*; and gradually the word "fish" became used for any entertainment given during the wine-party by guests,—such as songs, dances, etc.

¹⁷ Lit. "Demon-deer-hair." The term "deer-hair" only refers to colors. A nearly exact translation of the original characters would be "the Demon chestnut." *Kage* "deer-color," also means "chestnut." A chestnut horse is "*Kage-no-uma*."

And, lastly, he made the steed balance himself upon the frame of an *andon*.¹⁸

Then Yokoyama was at a loss what to do, and he could only say, bowing low to the Prince:—"Truly I am grateful for your entertainment;—I am very much delighted."

And the lord Oguri, having attached Onikage to a cherry-tree in the garden, reëntered the apartment.

But Saburō, the third son of the house, having persuaded his father to kill the Hangwan with poisoned wine, urged the Prince to drink *saké* with which there had been mingled the venom of a blue centipede and of a blue lizard and foul water that had long stood in the hollow joint of a severed bamboo.

And the Hangwan and his followers, not suspecting the wine had been poisoned, drank the whole.

Sad to say, the poison entered into their viscera and their intestines; and all their bones burst asunder by reason of the violence of the poison.

Their lives passed from them quickly as dew in the morning from the grass.

And Saburō and his father buried their corpses in the moor of Uwanogahara.

VI.—CAST ADRIFT.

The cruel Yokoyama thought that it would not do to suffer his daughter to live, after he had thus killed her husband. Therefore he felt obliged to order his faithful servants, Oniō and Oniji,¹⁹ who were brothers, to take her far out into the sea of Sagami, and to drown her there.

¹⁸ A large portable lantern, having a wooden frame and paper sides. There are *andon* of many forms, some remarkably beautiful.

¹⁹ Oniō and Oniji, "the King of devils," "the next greatest devil."

And the two brothers, knowing their master was too stormy-hearted to be persuaded otherwise, could do nothing but obey. So they went to the unhappy lady, and told her the purpose for which they had been sent.

Terute-hime was so astonished by her father's cruel decision, that at first she thought all this was a dream from which she earnestly prayed to be awakened.

After a while she said :—"Never in my whole life have I knowingly committed any crime. . . But whatever happen to my own body, I am more anxious than I can say to learn what became of my husband, after he visited my father's house."

"Our master," answered the two brothers,—“becoming very angry at learning that you two had been wedded without his lawful permission, poisoned the young prince according to a plan devised by your brother Saburō.”

Then Terute, more and more astonished, invoked, with just cause, a malediction upon her father for his cruelty.

But she was not even allowed time to lament her fate; for Oniō and his brother at once removed her garments, and put her naked body into a roll of rush-matting.

When this piteous package was carried out of the house at night, the Princess and her waiting maids bade each other their last farewells, with sobs and cries of grief.

The brothers Oniō and Oniji then rowed far out to sea with their pitiful burthen. But when they found themselves alone, then Oniji said to Oniō that it were better they should try to save their young mistress.

To this the elder brother at once agreed without difficulty; and both began to think of some plan to save her.

Just at the same time an empty canoe came near them, drifting with the sea-current.

At once the lady was placed in it; and the brothers exclaiming, "That indeed was a good piece of luck," bade their mistress farewell, and rowed back to their master.

VII.—THE LADY YORIHIME.

The canoe bearing poor Terute was tossed about by the waves for seven days and seven nights, during which time there was much wind and rain. And at last it was discovered by some fishermen who were fishing near Nawoye.

But they thought that the beautiful woman was certainly the spirit that had caused the long storm of many days; and Terute might have been killed by their oars, had not one of the men of Nawoye taken her under his protection.

Now this man, whose name was Murakimi Dayū, resolved to adopt the princess as his daughter,—as he had no child of his own to be his heir.

So he took her to his home, and named her Yori-hime, and treated her so kindly that his wife grew jealous of the adopted daughter, and therefore was often cruel to her when the husband was absent.

But being still more angered to find that Yori-hime would not go away of her own accord, the evil-hearted woman began to devise some means of getting rid of her forever.

Just at that time the ship of a kidnapper happened to cast anchor in the harbor. Needless to say that Yori-hime was secretly sold to this dealer in human flesh.

VIII.—BECOMING A SERVANT.

After this misfortune the unhappy princess passed from one master to another as many as seventy-five

times. Her last purchaser was one Yorudzuya Chōbei, well-known as the keeper of a large *jorōya* in the province of Mino.

When Terute-Hime was first brought before this new master, she spoke meekly to him, and begged him to excuse her ignorance of all refinements and of deportment. And Chōbei then asked her to tell him all about herself, her native place, and her family.

But Terute-Hime thought it would not be wise to mention even the name of her native province,—lest she might possibly be forced to speak of the poisoning of her husband by her own father.

So she resolved to answer only that she was born in Hitachi—feeling a sad pleasure in saying that she belonged to the same province in which the lord Hangwan, her lover, used to live.

“I was born,” she said, “in the province of Hitachi ; but I am of too low birth to have a family name. Therefore may I beseech you to bestow some suitable name upon me ?”

Then Terute-Hime was named Kohagi of Hitachi, and she was told that she would have to serve her master very faithfully in his business.

But this order she refused to obey, and said that she would perform with pleasure any work given her to do, however mean or hard,—but that she would never follow the business of a *jorō*.

“Then,” cried Chōbei in anger, “your daily tasks shall be these :—

“To feed all the horses, one hundred in number, that are kept in the stables, and to wait upon all other persons in the house when they take their meals ;—

“To dress the hair of the thirty-six *jorō* belonging to this house—dressing the hair of each in the style that best becomes her ; and also to fill seven boxes with threads of twisted hemp ;—

"Also to make the fire daily in seven furnaces, and to draw water from a spring in the mountains half a mile from here."

Terute knew that neither she, nor any other being alive, could possibly fulfil all the tasks thus laid upon her by this cruel master; and she wept over her misfortune.

But she soon felt that to weep could avail her nothing. So wiping away her tears, she bravely resolved to try what she could do, and then putting on an apron, and tying back her sleeves, she set to work feeding the horses.

The great mercy of the gods cannot be understood; but it is certain that as she fed the first horse, all the others, through divine influence, were fully fed at the same time.

And the same wonderful thing happened when she waited upon the people of the house at meal time, and when she dressed the hair of the girls, and when she twisted the threads of hemp, and when she went to kindle the fire in the furnaces.

But saddest was of all to see Terute-Hime, bearing the water buckets upon her shoulders, taking her way to the distant spring to draw water.

And when she saw the reflection of her much-changed face in the water with which she filled her buckets, then indeed she wept very bitterly.

But the sudden remembrance of the cruel Chōbei filled her with exceeding fear, and urged her back in haste to her terrible abode.

But soon the master of the *jorōya* began to see that his new servant was no common woman, and to treat her with a great show of kindness.

IX.—DRAWING THE CART.

And now we shall tell what became of Kane-uji.

The far-famed Yugyō Shōnin, of the temple of Fuji-

sawa in Kagami, who travelled constantly in Japan to preach the law of Buddha in all the provinces, chanced to be passing over the moor Uwanogahara.

There he saw many crows and kites flitting about a grave. Drawing nearer, he wondered much to see a nameless thing, seemingly without arms or legs, moving between the pieces of a broken tombstone.

Then he remembered the old tradition that those who are put to death before having completed the number of years allotted to them in this world, reappear or revive in the form called *Gaki-ami*.

And he thought that the shape before him must be one of those unhappy spirits or *gaki*; and the desire arose in his kindly heart to have the monster taken to the hot springs belonging to the temple of Kumano, and so cause its return to its former human state.

So he had a cart made for the *Gaki-ami*, and he placed the nameless shape in it, and fastened a wooden tablet, inscribed with large characters, to its breast.

And the words of the inscription were these :—"Take pity upon this unfortunate being, and help it upon its journey to the hot springs of the Temple of Kumano.

"Those who draw the cart even a little way, by pulling the rope attached to it, will be rewarded with very great good fortune.

"To draw the cart even one step shall be equal in merit to feeding one thousand priests; and to draw it two steps shall be equal in merit to feeding ten thousand priests;—

"And to draw it three steps shall be equal in merit to causing any dead relation,—father, mother, or husband,—to enter upon the way of Buddhahood."

Thus very soon travellers who travelled that way took pity on the formless one;—some drew the cart several miles; and others were kind enough to draw it for many days together.

And so, after much time, the *Gaki-ami* in its cart appeared before the *jorōya* of Yorodzuya Chōbei ; and Kohagi of Hitachi, seeing it, was greatly moved by the inscription.

Then becoming suddenly desirous to draw the cart if even for one day only, and so to obtain for her dead husband the merit resulting from such work of mercy, she prayed her master to allow her three days' liberty that she might draw the cart.

And she asked this for the sake of her parents ; for she dared not speak of her husband, fearing the master might become very angry were he to learn the truth.

Chōbei at first refused, declaring in an angry voice that since she had not obeyed his former commands, she should never be allowed to leave the house, even for a single hour.

But Kohagi said to him :—" Lo ! master !—the hens go to their nests when the weather becomes cold ; and the little birds hie to the deep forest. Even so do men in time of misfortune flee to the shelter of benevolence.

" Surely it is because you are known as a kindly man that the *Gaki-ami* rested awhile outside the fence of this house.

" Now I shall promise to give up even my life for my master and mistress in case of need, providing you will only grant me three days' freedom now."

So at last the miserly Chōbei was persuaded to grant the prayer ; and his wife was glad to add even two days more to the time permitted. And Kohagi, thus freed for five days, was so rejoiced that she at once without delay commenced her horrible task.

After having, with much hardship, passed through such places as Fuhano-seki, Musa, Bamba, Samegaye, Ōno, and Suenaga-tōge she reached the famed town of Ōtsu, in the space of three days.

There she knew that she would have to leave the cart, since it would take her two days to return thence to the province of Mino.

On her long way to Otsu, the only pleasing sights and sounds were the beautiful lilies growing wild by the road side,—the voices of the *hibari* and *shijugara* and all the birds of spring that sang in the trees,—and the songs of the peasant girls who were planting the rice.

But such sights and sounds could please her only a moment; for most of them caused her to dream of other days, and gave her pain by making her recollect the hopeless condition into which she had now fallen.

Though greatly wearied by the hard labor she had undertaken for three whole days, she would not go to an inn. She passed the last night beside the nameless shape, which she would have to leave next day.

"Often have I heard," she thought to herself, "that a *Gaki-ami* is a being belonging to the world of the dead. This one, then, should know something about my dead husband.

"Oh! that this *Gaki-ami* had either the sense of hearing or of sight!—then I could question it about Kane-uji, either by word of mouth, or in writing."

When day dawned above the neighboring misty mountains, Kohagi went away to get an inkstone and a brush; and she soon returned with these to the place where the cart was.

Then, with the brush, she wrote, below the inscription upon the wooden tablet attached to the breast of the *Gaki-ami*, these words:—

"When you shall have recovered and are able to return to your province, pray call upon Kohagi of Hitachi, a servant of Yorodzuya Chōbei of the village of Obaka in the Province of Mino.

"For it will give me much joy to see again the person for whose sake I obtained with difficulty five days' freedom,

three of which I gave to drawing your cart as far as this place."

Then she bade the *Gaki-ami* farewell, and hurried back upon her homeward way,—although she found it very difficult thus to leave the cart alone.

X.—THE REVIVAL.

At last the *Gaki-ami* was brought to the hot springs of the famed [*Shintō*] temple of Kumano Gongen, and by the aid of those compassionate persons who pitied its state, was daily enabled to experience the healing effects of the bath.

After a single week the effects of the bath caused the the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth to reappear ;—after fourteen days all the limbs had been fully reformed ;—

And after one-and-twenty days the nameless shape was completely transformed into the real Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji—perfect and handsome as he had been in other years.

When this marvellous change had been effected, Kane-uji looked all about him, and wondered much when and how he had been brought to that strange place.

But through the august influence of the God of Kumano, things were so ordained that the revived Prince could return safely to his home at Nijō in Kyōto, where his parents, the Lord Kane-iye and his spouse, welcomed him with great joy.

Then the August Emperor, hearing all that had happened, thought it a wonderful thing that any of his subjects after having been dead three years, should have thus revived.

And not only did he gladly pardon the fault for which the Hangwan had been banished, but further appointed him to be lord-ruler of the three provinces,—Hitachi, Sagami, and Mino.

XI.—THE INTERVIEW.

One day Oguri Hangwan left his residence to make a journey of inspection through the provinces of which he had been appointed ruler. And reaching Mino, he resolved to visit Kohagi of Hitachi, and to utter his thanks to her for her exceeding goodness.

Therefore he lodged at the house of Yorodzuya, where he was conducted to the finest of all the guest-chambers, which was made beautiful with screens of gold, with Chinese carpets, with Indian hangings, and with other precious things of great cost.

When the Lord ordered Kohagi of Hitachi to be summoned to his presence, he was answered that she was only one of the lowest menials, and too dirty to appear before him. But he paid no heed to these words, only commanding that she should come at once,—no matter how dirty she might be.

Therefore, much against her will, Kohagi was obliged to appear before the lord, whom she at first beheld through a screen, and saw to be so much like the Hangwan that she felt a start of surprise.

Oguri then asked her to tell him her real name ; but Kohagi refused, saying:—"If I may not serve my lord with wine, except on condition of telling my real name, then I can only leave the presence of my lord."

But as she was about to go, the Hangwan called to her:—"Nay, stop a little while. I have a good reason to ask your name, because I am in truth that very *Gaki-ami* whom you so kindly drew last year to Otsu in a cart."

And with these words he produced the wooden tablet upon which Kohagi had written.

Then she was very much moved, and said:—"I am very happy to see you thus recovered. And now I shall gladly tell you all my history,—hoping only that you,

my lord, will tell me something of that ghostly world from which you have come back, and in which my husband, alas ! now dwells.

“ I was born—(it hurts my heart to speak of former times !)—the only child of Yokoyama Chōja, who dwelt in the district of Soba, in the province of Sagami, and my name was Terute Hime.

“ I too well remember, also, having been wedded three years ago, to a famous person of rank whose name was Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji, who used to live in the Province of Hitachi. But my husband was poisoned by my father at the instigation of his own third son, Saburō.

“ I myself was condemned by him to be drowned in the sea of Sagami. And I owe my present existence to the faithful servants of my father,—Oniō and Oniji.”

Then the lord Hangwan said,—“ You see here before you, Terute, your husband Kane-uji. Although killed together with my followers, I had been destined to live in this world many years longer.

“ By the learned priest of Fujisawa temple I was saved, and being provided with a cart, I was drawn by many kind persons to the hot springs of Kumano, where I was restored to my former health and shape. And now I have been appointed lord-ruler of the three provinces, and can have all things that I desire.”

Hearing this tale, Terute could scarcely believe it was not all a dream ; and she wept for joy. Then she said :—“ Ah ! since last I saw you, what hardships have I not passed through !

“ For seven days and seven nights I was tossed about upon the sea in a canoe ;—then I was in a great danger in the Bay of Nawoye, and was saved by a kind man called Murakami Dayū.

“ And after that I was sold and bought seventy-five times ; and the last time was brought here where I have

been made to suffer all kinds of hardship only because I refused to become a *jūrō*. That is why you now see me in so wretched a condition."

Very angry was Kane-uji to hear of the cruel conduct of the inhuman Chōbei, and desired to kill him at once.

But Terute besought her husband to spare the man's life, and so fulfilled the promise she had long before made to Chōbei,—that she would give even her own life if necessary for her master and mistress, on condition of being allowed five days' freedom to draw the cart of the *Gaki-ami*.

And for this, Chōbei was really grateful: and in compensation he presented the Hangwan with the hundred horses from his stables, and gave to Terute the thirty-six servants belonging to his house.

And then Terute-hime, appropriately attired, went away with the Prince Kane-uji; and they began their journey to Sagami with hearts full of joy.

XII.—THE VENGEANCE.

This is the district of Soba in the province of Sagami, the native land of Terute: how many beautiful and how many sorrowful thoughts does it recall to their minds.

And here also are Yokoyama and his son who killed Lord Oguri with poison.

So Saburō, the third son, being led to the moor called Totsuka-no-hara, was there punished.

But Yokoyama Chōja, wicked as he had been, was not punished;—because parents must be for their children always like the sun and moon, however bad they may be. And hearing this order, Yokoyama repented very greatly for that which he had done.

Oniō and Oniji, the brothers, were rewarded with many gifts for having saved the Princess Terute off the coast of Sagami.

Thus those who were good prospered, and the bad were brought to destruction.

Fortunate and happy, Oguri-Sama and Terute-Hime, together returned to Miako, to dwell in the residence at Nijō, and their union was beautiful as the blossoming-time of Spring.

Fortunate ! Fortunate !

THE BALLAD OF O-SHICHI, THE DAUGHTER
OF THE YAOYA.²⁰

In autumn the deer are lured within reach of the hunters by the sounds of the flute, which resemble the sounds of the voices of their mates,—and so are killed.

Almost in like manner, one of the five most beautiful girls in Yedo, whose comely faces charmed all the capital even as the spring-blossoming of cherry trees, cast away her life in the moment of blindness caused by love.

When, having wrought a vain thing, she was brought before the Mayor of the City of Yedo, that high official questioned the young criminal, asking:—"Are you not O-Shichi, the daughter of the *yaoya* ?" And being so young, how came you to commit such a dreadful crime as incendiarism ?"

Then O-Shichi, weeping and wringing her hands, made this answer:—"Indeed that was the only crime that I ever committed ; and I had no extraordinary reason for it, but this :

"Once before, when there had been a great fire—so great a fire that nearly all Yedo was consumed,—our house

²⁰ *Yaoya*, a seller of vegetables.

also was burned down. And we three—my parents and I,—knowing no other where to go, took shelter in a Buddhist temple, to remain there until our house could be rebuilt.

“Surely the destiny that draws two young persons to each other is hard to understand! . . . In that temple there was a young acolyte, and love grew up between us.

“In secret we met together, and promised never to forsake each other,—and we pledged ourselves to each other by sucking blood from small cuts we made in our little finger, and by exchanging written vows that we should love each other forever.

“Before our pillows had yet become fixed²¹ our new house in Hongo was built and made ready for us.

“But from that day when I bade a sad farewell to Kichiza-sama whom I had pledged myself for the time of two existences, never was my heart consoled by even one letter from the acolyte.

“Alone in my bed at night, I used to think and think, and at last in a dream there came to me the dreadful idea of setting fire to the house,—as the only means of again being able to meet my beautiful lover.

“Then, one evening, I got a bundle of dry rushes, and placed inside it some piece of live charcoal, and I secretly put the bundle into a shed at the back of the house.

“A fire broke out, and there was a great tumult, and I was arrested and brought here—oh! how dreadful it was.

²¹This curious expression can only be understood by help of the fact that lovers are said to exchange pillows. Thus the pillows may be confused. “While the pillows were yet not definite or fixed,” would mean, therefore, while the two lovers were still in the habit of seeking each other at night.

“I will never, never commit such a fault again. But whatever happen, O pray save me, my *Bugyō*!—O pray take pity on me!”

Ah! the simple apology! But what was her age?—not twelve?—not thirteen?—not fourteen? Fifteen comes after fourteen. Alas! she was fifteen and could not be saved!

Therefore O-Shichi was sentenced according to the law. But first she was bound with strong cords, and was for seven days exposed to public view on the bridge called Nidenbashi. Ah! what a piteous sight it was!

Her aunts and cousins,—even Bekurai and Kakusuke, the house servants, had often to wring their sleeves,—so wet were their sleeves with tears.

But, because the crime could not be forgiven, O-Shichi was bound to four posts, and fuel was kindled, and the fire rose up! . . . And poor O-Shichi in the midst of that fire.

Even so the insects of summer fly to the flame.

DEVELOPMENTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

BY REV. A. LLOYD, M.A.

[*Read Nov. 14, 1894.*]

CHAPTER I.

In order to understand the history and development of the Buddhist Faith, some account should be given of the Brahman Faith of India upon which it is based ; for there is scarcely one doctrine of Buddhism which is not derived from the earlier religion of India. Like Christianity, Buddhism does not claim to be a new revelation, but to be a restatement, made in a convincing form, of truths which have been since the beginning.

The Brahman religion may be said to have two principal forms :—Pure philosophical Brahmanism, and Hinduism. Buddhism has forms corresponding to both of these.

“ Pure philosophical Brahmanism,” says Professor Monier Williams,¹ “ may fairly be identified with the Vedanta system, which again is closely connected with the Sāṅkhya.

“ It is a creed built up on the doctrine of an impersonal, universally present, unconscious spirit called Brahman,

¹ Buddhism in its Relation to Brahminism, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. xvii part ii. Art. viii (new series).

a kind of spiritual element or vital principle pervading all space, and underlying equally every material object, whether organic, or inorganic, whether stones, animals, men or gods.

“It postulates the eternal existence of that impersonal elementary spirit as its starting point—denies the real existence, not only of all material objects, but of the separate human soul as distinct from the universal soul; and ends where it began, in a pure impersonal entity, which it is difficult to distinguish in its unconscious state from pure non-entity. If this be Pantheism, as commonly alleged, it is a kind of spiritual Pantheism very different from the ordinary Pantheism of European philosophy.

“Hinduism, on the other hand, is a system built upon the doctrine of devotion to the personal gods Siva and Vishnu. It postulates the eternal existence of those personal gods as its starting point, and ends in simple polytheism and idolatry.

“If we compare in the same way philosophical with popular Buddhism, the difference seems to be in this:—

“Philosophical Buddhism—or at least the truest form of it,—is a system built up on the doctrine of the utter unreality and undesirableness of life in any form or state, and the non-existence of any spiritual essence as distinguished from material organisms. It postulates the eternal existence of nothing as its starting point, and ends in simple Nihilism. Impermanence is written on the whole visible universe, including man. Even the most perfect human being must lapse into non-existence.

“Popular Buddhism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the worship of certain perfected human beings converted into personal gods. It affirms the eternal permanence of such beings in some state or other, just

as Vaishnavas affirm the eternal existence of Vishnu. It gives them divine attributes, and ends like Hinduism in polytheism and idolatry."

It is abundantly clear (and I must still acknowledge my indebtedness to the same author) that the historical Buddha did not intend to found a new religion, but a monastic order existing within the old, and distinguished from the old mainly by its greater universality of aim. No new doctrine was propounded—the universality of sorrow, and the desire to escape from it by a life of asceticism and self-devotion which should ultimately lead to union with the universal nothing—all these are clearly to be found in Brahmanical writings. Nay, the very technical terms of philosophical Buddhism—*Bodhi* or enlightenment, *Karma*, *Dharma*, the five *Skandhas*, *Kalpas*, *Moksha*, all come to us from Brahmanism rather than from Buddhism. It was Sakyanuni's intention, not to overthrow the old thoughts, but to make the sound conclusions of philosophical Brahmanism available for the whole population of his country, irrespective of rank and caste. This will account for the comparative ease and rapidity with which Buddhism has disappeared from the land of its birth. The Indian Buddhist under the stress of religious persecution, found in one or other of the Hindoo sects all that he required, or valued, in the way of doctrine or morality. The Buddhist faith therefore was never destroyed by Brahmanism, but completely re-absorbed. And so it comes to pass that whilst India is no longer the home of the Buddhist Church, it still remains, for every true disciple of Sakyanuni, the true Holy Land, the place nearest to Heaven, the place still hallowed by the traditions and doctrines of the Great Teacher of the East.

If it be true that philosophic Buddhism is thus intimately connected with the philosophic Brahmanism which preceded it, it is equally true that the theistic Buddhism of the Northern, or so-called Great Vehicle,

School is similarly connected with the theistic Hinduism out of which it sprang, and especially with that mystic religionism which was ever seeking to find the spiritual truths underlying the popular mythology.

Perhaps a few words on the subject of the "Vehicles" may here be in place. By Vehicle is meant such a body of doctrine as will enable the believer to ride thereon to the perfect consummation of his humanity. It is in other words a "body of saving doctrine." Buddhism knows two, it not three such Vehicles—the Hīnayāna, or Small Vehicle, the Mahāyāna, or Great Vehicle, and the Ekayāna, or One Vehicle. The professors of the Hīnayāna, generally predominant in Ceylon and Burmaah, charge the Mahāyāna teachings with being an illegitimate development of the Great Master's teachings, whilst those who follow the Great Vehicle, and still more those who are enlightened by the superior illumination of the One or True Vehicle, look down upon the Hīnayāna as a rudimentary and imperfect Buddhism. It is my belief that all three find a place in the legitimate preachings of Buddhism. I will give my reasons for this belief. It is not given to many teachers to have their sphere of activity extended over a period so long as that which comprises the missionary activity of Sakyamuni. Our Lord's Ministry was barely three years, that of the Buddha was for fifty. It is impossible to think that, during that half century, he did not increase in wisdom and develop in his teachings. He would have been no true man had he not done so. Neither is it credible that his original disciples, during all the long period of his tuition, were not growing day by day in spiritual insight, so that that which satisfied them at the beginning ceased to meet their spiritual requirements even a year after their first conversion. It seems to me therefore but natural to suppose that the teachings of the Bhagavat progressed as time went on, in accordance with the

proportion of faith, both in himself and in his hearers, from the denials and prohibitions of the Smaller Vehicle to the positive assertions and commands of the Great, and through these to the spiritualized truths of the One Vehicle of Universal Teaching.

The earlier teachings of Sakyamuni were in the Pali language, the Prakrit colloquial spoken in the Kingdom of Maghada, and were addressed entirely to persons who were in the habit of using the language. This may be seen by examining the introductory notices to the various Sūtras of the Sutta Nipāta, or of any other of the Hīnayāna Sūtras. But by degrees the teaching spread beyond the confines of the Kingdom of Magadha, to the larger India outside, and was addressed to persons of a higher rank than those to whom the preaching was first addressed. This necessitated a change in the language. Pali was no longer useful, but Sanskrit. Neither was popular Brahmanism the only rock upon which to base. Sakyamuni and his expositors (for Sakya himself wrote nothing) appealed to the wider constituency of the Sanskrit-using peoples throughout India, and based their appeal not on the philosophic Brahmanism, but on the popular Hinduism of which Buddhism claimed to be the logical development and conclusion.

M. Senart, in an article entitled *La Légende du Buddha*,² has an interesting argument to show that all the theological attributes which are ascribed to the Buddha in the writings of the Great Vehicle, are in reality taken from the Hindoo writings, and especially from those which are capable of a spiritualized meaning, such as the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavadgita, and the Vishnu Purana.

Thus when the Prince Siddhartha was born, the Brahmins, to whose care the marvellous boy is en-

² Journal Asiatique, 1874, 7 series, vol. 3.

trusted, announce that he possesses the marks of a Cakravartin² or a Buddha; and in after years, when the prince leaves his home and commences his contest with Mara the Tempter, he renounces the glories of a Cakravartin, in order that he may reach to the higher dignity of a Buddha. A careful examination shows us that we are here dealing with a Brahmanic thought, and that the ideal Cakravartin with his seven treasures, etc., is a creation of spiritual Hinduism, the longing after that perfect Purusha, the ideal MAN, who lives in the person of Krishna and other avatars of Vishnu, but who, according to Buddhist testimony, meets with his fullest development in the person of Sakyamuni. This analogy, between the conceptions of Hindoo popular theology and the advanced stages of Great Vehicle Buddhism, is carried out very fully by M. Senart, in a series of articles which will well repay a detailed study: and the conclusion to which I almost unconsciously came whilst reading them, was that as the Hinayāna, or Lesser Vehicle Buddhism, was the logical completion and methodized expression of that philosophical Brahmanism upon which it was based, so, in the higher conceptions of Mahāyāna doctrines, we have the same principles adapted to the speculative dreams of theological Hinduism. The Mahāyāna seems to point to the Messianic hopes (if I may so call them) of Hindoo mysticism as fulfilled in the person of Sakyamuni. And if, in the later development, we are led on, as in the *Saddharma Pundarika*, to the consideration of the Tathagata as the visible embodiment of a personality whom it wants some ingenuity to distinguish from God, it will not be hard to find the same thought expressed for us in the highest of all Hindoo poems, the mystical *Bhagavadgita*.

It is for these reasons that I cannot consider the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism as being an illegitimate

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, 7 series, vol. 3.

development of the faith originally delivered by Sakyamuni to his disciples. It falls naturally into its place if we consider the life and teachings of the Great Founder of Buddhism.

NOTE ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE GREAT AND LITTLE VEHICLES.

A very clear instance of the essential difference between the methods and objects of the two schools of Buddhistic teachings will be found in the *Chatur Dharmaka Sutra*, an account of which is given us by M. Feer in his *Études Bouddhiques* (Journal Asiatique, 1866), and which is said to be one of the very few Sutras existing both in a Hinayāna and a Mahāyāna form. I do not intend in this short note to give a complete account of the two Sutras ; for this I must refer the reader to M. Feer's account.

But two points come out very distinctly. The Hinayāna Sūtra is intended for beginners, the Mahāyāna for those who are more advanced in the path of the law. In the former they are addressed only as Bhikkus, in the latter, many of the auditors of Sakyamuni are spoken of as having advanced to the stage of Bodhisatvas, the highest rank that a living man can attain to. Further, in accordance with this distinction in the hearers, the teaching advances a stage, from the negative to the positive. In the Hinayāna, the perfect virtue consists in the absence of four things. He that would walk in the perfect path must abstain from four things ; to wit,

1. Women.
2. Royal palaces.
3. Beautiful things.
4. Riches.

In the other, perfect virtue lies in the presence of four things, and he that would attain to it must ever keep with him,

1. The spirit of wisdom.

2. The love of virtue.
3. Patience and firmness.
4. The retired life.

M. Feer, continuing his examination, shows that the spirit of wisdom denotes that special characteristic of the Bodhisattva, without which he cannot attain to perfect enlightenment; that is, the constant desire for the truth. The love of virtue is especially explained in another Sûtra, which gives us the master's reply to Ananda's question. It consists in the abhorrence of evil, and the desire after truth. This Sutra is in Sanskrit *Kalyana Mitra-Saranam Sutra*.

The third quality is found, by a comparison of the Sanskrit with the Tibetan, to represent that perfect manliness which is the highest outcome of the sum-total of all the parâmitas, forbearance towards the weak; whilst the fourth precept of the Mahâyâna bears to the fourth precept of the Hinayâna the same relationship that the beatitude, pronounced on the "poor in spirit" in St. Matthew, bears to that on the "poor" in St. Luke.

It will be found that all the precepts given in the Mahâyâna Sutra are very ancient and primitive; and that they all form a part of the personal teachings of Sakya-muni, as they are all to be found in various sutras which are undoubtedly primitive. This tends to the conclusion that the Mahâyâna is not a later production, an unwarrantable and unauthorized development of Sakya's teaching, but that it is all included in his original idea, and is to be explained by his well-known method of preaching the truth to men, according to the proportion of the faith, according as they were able to bear it.

CHAPTER II.

The life of the Founder of Buddhism does not, in the modern Japanese accounts, differ very much from that of the same personage given in the Tibetan and Chinese

accounts. Both Mr. Beal³ and Mr. Rockhill⁴ have given biographies of the Great Teacher from the point of view of northern Buddhism. There is also an admirable summary of the Life of Shaka (to give him his Japanese name), based on the Japanese work *Shaka Jitsu Roku*, in the Introduction to Messrs. Satow and Hawes' Handbook for Central and Northern Japan.

It would not, however, be right to say that such a book as the *Jitsu Roku* gives us a view of the now current version of Sakyamuni's life. Wherever modern studies have penetrated (and they have penetrated very far in this country), there the fact is recognized that, amongst the many legends connected with the Life of the Founder, there are many which are fabulous; and, in fault of better, they have adopted the criticisms of western scholars, and lay very little stress on any story which would not be endorsed by the scholars of England, France or Germany. The general outlines of this great life are, I presume, known to all my readers, and I shall therefore content myself with a very short summary of its principal features.

According to Japanese chronology, Siddartha, the son of King Suddhodhana, was born in the country of Kapilavastu in Central India in the year B.C. 1027. There are some Japanese, however, who assign B.C. 743 as the year of his birth, whilst foreigners generally place it as late as B.C. 653. It is remarkably strange that there should be such a variety of opinions as to the birth of the founder of so great a system as Buddhism; and, were it not for the well-known indifference to dates which characterizes the Oriental mind, we should be tempted to take this uncertainty as strengthening the conjecture of some Orientalists, that Sakyamuni is not a historical personage, but merely a mythological creation.

³ Catena of Chinese Classics. ⁴ Life of Buddha from the Tibetan.

Many marvels are related, both of his previous births, and of his miraculous conception in the womb of Maya his mother, to whom he came in a dream, entering her womb in the shape of a white and spotless elephant. (In Japanese his father's name is Jōbon Dai Ō, that of his mother Maya Bunin).

A child of marvelous beauty and size, such as became one whose birth had been attended by so many prodigies, he had at three years the appearance of a child of six ; had mastered the sciences of astronomy, geography and arithmetic by the time that he was seven ; was skilled in archery and fencing ;—and, being of great beauty and taller than all his compeers, was formally acknowledged as heir apparent to his father, and at the age of eighteen married to the beautiful Yasodhara. His life had hitherto been one ceaseless round of happiness and pleasure ; but the happiness ceased when his perambulations of the city revealed to him the existence of the painful things,—birth, old age, disease and death.

With that sympathy for human suffering which was always one of the main characteristics of the Blessed One, he set himself to work to find a means for saving his suffering fellow-beings ; and secretly leaving his home and youthful bride in the beginning of his nineteenth year, he spent twelve years in seeking for the truth, first by means of asceticism and fasting, and then by the path of abstract meditation. At last, while sitting under the Bodhi Tree, or Tree of Wisdom, he achieved that enlightenment which made him able to save both himself and others.

We may pause just one moment here to consider a discrepancy or inconsistency which is very important in connection with the question of Buddha's personality. If, before his birth as the Prince Siddhartha, the Tathagata had already attained the perfect enlightenment, and was waiting in the Tushita heaven

for a favourable moment for accomplishing this design, then the account of the conflict with the evil One, which culminated in the enlightenment of the Buddha, must be interpreted as referring to a conflict with Mara for the possession of immortality. If, on the other hand, the Buddha then for the first time obtained his enlightenment, we need not take the higher conflict into account. It is, in that case, merely a strife for knowledge ;—though when we come to the utmost issues, knowledge is life, for life eternal, as we know, consists in the knowledge of God.

To the Hīnayāna believer, the meaning of the conflict with the Tempter is only a conflict in the lower sense. Shall the prince become a Cakravartin, a mighty ruler over the earth, or shall he attain to the higher rank of a Buddha, able to teach ? The Mahāyāna believer sees in it something farther ; shall the Buddha (for he is one already) extort eternal life for his followers, or not ? The end set before the one class of followers is freedom from pain by means of following one who is enlightened : the Nirvana set before the other is eternal life, in union with the eternal spirit, as a consequence of perfect enlightenment.

The Hīnayāna sees, in the results of this conflict, that the Buddha understood the meaning of the Four Great Truths. He understood that pain was the universal fact attached to life, that ignorance was the universal cause of pain, and desire the universal cause of life ; whilst the universal means for escaping from both pain and existence, was the noble eight-fold path of right conduct, thought, and desires.

The Mahāyāna however sees in it, further, a kind of Transfiguration of the Buddha. Sitting under the Bodhi tree he realizes the existence of his three-fold transfigured body. With the one, the Nirvana Kāya (Jap. *Ōjin* or *Keshin*), he appears in a transfigured form before Pratyekā Buddhas, S'ravakas, gods and men ; with his " compensation body " (Sambhōga Kāya, Jap.

Hōshin), he appears before all the Bodhisattvas of the ten regions; whilst with his "law-body" (*Dharmakaya*, *Hosshun*), which is colourless, and formless, he sits for ever in the region of the Absolute and the Unseen. It is this Trinity that the Mahāyāna Buddhist is taught to recognize in the transfigured Buddha. When he advances to the higher teachings of the One Vehicle, he learns to pay no more attention to the Man, Sakyamuni, but to concentrate his faith and hope on the everlasting Trinity (*san jin ittai* "three bodies one substance") which are embodied in him.⁵

After his great conflict was over, and the victory had been gained, the Buddha remained for one week in beatific contemplation of the Truths to which he had attained; and then, whilst still apparently in an ecstatic condition, he preached a sermon, repeated nine times in seven different places. This sermon is known in Sanskrit as "*Buddhacatamsaka maha raipulya Sutra*," in Japanese as *Kegon Kyō*.⁶

We should have expected that the first teachings of the Blessed One would have been marked by simplicity, and that the *Kegon Kyō*, as the first discourse pronounced by him, would have been a sermon containing the very

⁵ "The Mandala also typifies the great truth that all things in time and space are in essence one and the same, and that in their reality or actual nature, they are pure and eternal. In short, the Mandala represents the Buddha of Original Enlightenment, not the man Buddha of gigantic stature and the glorious features. The Buddha of Original Enlightenment is universal and omnipresent. Earth, air, fire, water, colour, sound, smell, taste, touch, form the Buddha's Spiritual Body. Form, perception, conception, name, and knowledge, as well as the functions of body, mouth and will, are the Buddha's Compensation Body. Head, trunk, hands and feet, eyes, nose, tongue and so forth, constitute his Transformation Body." (*Doctrines of Nichiren*, p. 19.)

⁶ A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka by Bunyu Nanjo, Oxford, 1883.

elements of his teachings, and so have corresponded somewhat to Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. But the *Kepon Kyō* is an extremely complicated system of teaching, and as a matter of fact, in the Chinese arrangement of the Tripitaka, the *Kepon Kyō* and its kindred Sutras are placed much later.

To the Japanese mind, however, the *Kepon Kyō* is a discourse spoken to angels, gods, and men. Without leaving the spot where he had attained to enlightenment, the Buddha delivers a sermon which is listened to by eight different congregations in seven different rooms (two congregations are in one room); and half these congregations are earthly and half heavenly. The *Kepon Kyō* is therefore the formal manifestation of that full body of Truth which the Buddha is now, during the long period of his Ministry, going to apply to the varying needs of mankind.

Having thus delivered his initial manifesto, the Buddha descends from his mountain, and commences his human ministry. For twelve years he preached the Lesser Vehicle, adapted to the capacities of those numerous hearers, to whom the abstract truths of the earlier manifesto would have been entirely incomprehensible. His earliest convert was the Snake-king Mak'ilinda (Mon-rin Ryu-ō), whom he converted on his way to Vārāṇasī (Benares), where he was going to commence his real labours as a preacher. Nor was his preaching amongst men unsuccessful: kings and peasants, learned and ignorant, men and women, all flocked to his simple teachings; and in a short time he found himself surrounded by so large a company of disciples that he was obliged to add to his labours of preaching the care of a large number of religious communities, who looked to him for spiritual guidance and discipline as well as for continual instruction. This period of the Buddha's activity is known as the *Hoku on* (Sanskrit Mrigadāva—"deer park") period, from the place which formed his

principal place of residence. It is also known as the *Agon*, or *Agama* period, from the general name given to the Sutras and other writings connected with this period. The Sutras coming under this head are extremely numerous, and all are included amongst the Hinayāna teachings. The curious will find a complete list of them in Mr. Nijo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, already alluded to.

The time had now come for the Law to be preached in other places besides the capital of Hinduism (Benares), and the Blessed one accordingly sets out on his journeys to the various places embraced in his ministry; reaching even as far as Ceylon, from which he had received a pressing invitation. It is in connection with these journeys that arose the legend about the famous footprint of Buddha which is still shown to the traveller in Ceylon, and of which there is a facsimile in the court of the Zōjōji Temple in Shiba, Tōkyō. But with this period there comes a change in his methods. We read of a visit paid by Shaka, with two of his disciples, to the Tushita heaven where his mother was now residing, in order to preach

her the Law of which she had hitherto been in ignorance. It may be that this refers to some trance or period of ecstasy akin to those into which Swedenborg was in the habit of falling. Certain it is that during his absence his disciples mourned for him as one that was dead, and that on his return his teachings were considerably amplified. This period is known as the *Vaidā*, or *Vaipulya* period, and embraces eight years, during which he preached to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from all the ten regions, who had assembled around him by "a staircase made between the world of desire and that of form." The Vaipulya, or amplified, Scriptures form a separate department of the Chinese Tripitaka; but there are many Sutras in other parts of the collection which are also thus designated. It is possible that in such

cases they are expansions of originally simple teachings, made to suit the greater illumination of the *Hōdō* period.

From the period of expansion, to the period of Transcendent Wisdom is one more step, and a very natural one. From the age of fifty to seventy-one, the Buddha preached the Transcendent Wisdom. It is difficult to summarize this great Wisdom, which was thus preached by him from the four places which were his headquarters during this period.—the Vulture's Peak hermitage on Mt. Grdhrakuta, the garden presented to him by Anathapindada at Sravati, the Abode of the Paranirtimitavasavartins, and the much cherished retreat of the famous Bamboo grove. The *Prajñāpāramitā* (Jap. *Hannyā*) doctrines are mainly contained in two Sūtras, the *Hannyā Shūin Giyō*, a short Sūtra, of which a translation is given by Mr. Beal in his *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, and the larger *Dai Hannyā Kyō* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) which has the honour of being the largest of all the Buddhist books, and is about the length of the New Testament. Another well-known Sūtra of this period is the *Kongōkyō* (*Vajracchedikā Sūtra*) of which there exists an excellent French translation.

The characteristic teaching of this period is the doctrine of the Absolute, which Shaka seems to be aiming at, but cannot define. When we get into the region of the Absolute and Unconditioned lying at the back of the transitory phenomena which the *Vaipulya* has taught as to mistrust, we get into a region where words fail us. Form and space cannot exist, nor yet the variations of time. There is nothing for the mind to lay hold of; and, consequently, there is nothing by which the Absolute can be known or described. In other words, man cannot by thinking find out God.

But the Buddha did not thus leave his disciples in an absolute negation. The Japanese biographer, basing his

system on an old "harmony" made by Tendai Daishi, tells us that yet once more did he advance a stage in his doctrine.

Sakyamuni is not the only Buddha, for he has already in previous ages preached to many other Buddhas, and these Buddhas have repeatedly come to his assistance. But all these Buddhas partake of one nature: and one heart permeates them all, the heart of that Absolute Mind which cannot be described by human words. Yet in order that men may be able to gain some idea of that absolute mind which permeates the universe, it has become personified in a single great Buddha of original existence, of whom the earthly Buddhas are but Incarnations.

In accordance with this, during his last period (*Hokke*, or *Nehan*), he speaks of this personal deity (for there is no other word to describe him) whom necessity has as it were forced upon him. To this period are ascribed the Sutras which more than any others are read and prized in Japan:—the two Sukhāvati Vyūhas (*Daimuryōjukyō* and *Mida Kyō*) which speak the praises of Amitābha, the Buddha of infinite life, light and love: and the Saddharma pundarika (*Hokekyō*) which further expands this being into the Tathāgata of Original Enlightenment in whom there resides a Trinity of three persons. This forms the end of Sakyamuni's teaching and the *Nehankyō*, or Sūtra of the Great Decease, forms a fit conclusion to the labours of the Great Apostle of the East.

It is important for the reader to bear in mind this five-fold distribution of Sakyamuni's teachings. It is held in Japan that not only was Sakyamuni's life so arranged, but that the whole subsequent course of the history of the Buddhist Church arranges itself on his plan. It will perhaps enable us to distinguish among the Buddhist sects those which are legitimate descendants of Sakyamuni and those which are not, and to systematize the develop-

ments of doctrine which have taken place in this land. The visitor to Nikkō will perhaps remember with interest that the waterfalls on the road between Chiuzenji and Nikkō are named after these periods in the life of the Great Founder of Buddhism.

CHAPTER III.

When Sakyamuni died, the teaching which he had given as a seed during his life-time was left to bring forth its fruit in the ages, according to the period of development which he himself had assigned to it.

The first period, as we have seen, was the period of *Kegon*, the period during which, whilst under the influence of the spiritual excitement resulting from his conflict with the Tempter, he preached, in an almost ecstatic condition, the whole fulness of his Truth. To this period corresponds what may be called the Apostolic Age of the Buddhist Church. The Tathagata had during his life-time chosen one especial disciple to be his successor. This was Kas'yapa, or Kashō, the first patriarch of United Buddhism.

Under Kas'yapa and his immediate successors the Buddhist community retained its unity and catholicity. There was no difference between Great Vehicle and Little; and in the strength of that (may I call it?) divine impetus which the congregations had received from their founder, they proclaimed to angels and men the whole Body of Shaka's doctrines, the mystic depths of the Great, as well as the simpler fundamentals of the Smaller Vehicle.

But the world was not ready to receive so full a doctrine, nor were the succeeding generations of Buddhist converts equal in spiritual depth to those who had themselves heard with their own ears the teachings of the great sage. It became therefore a necessity to go back to the foundation, and once more to bring into prominence those elementary truths which form the basis of the

Buddhist Faith, and which Sakyamuni himself had brought into prominence during the second and longest period of his ministry.

Hence, by the end of the first century after the Nirvana of the Bhagavat, the Hīnayāna doctrines were the principal, soon the only, topics of religious teaching among his followers; and the Mahāyāna itself vanished for a time from the thought of the Buddhist World. We are not here much concerned with the developments of this Hīnayāna Buddhism. Suffice it to say that two of the many sects into which it was divided, the Sarvastivādins and the Sautrantikas reached China in due course, and that their books were the first to be taught in Japan.

About the end of the sixth century after Sakyamuni's entry into Nirvāna, (I am here giving the received Japanese chronology, though I know there are grave reasons for supposing it to be wrong) Buddhism advanced another stage, and, in the person of *As'raghosha* (Memyō), the Mahāyāna doctrines were once more preached, as the development of the teachings which had hitherto been in vogue. A century later, *Nagarjūna* (Ryōju), *As'tamha* (Mujaku) and *Vasubandhu* promulgated a still more advanced doctrine, and brought the Mahāyāna school to the height of its Indian development. *As'raghosha's* work may be compared to the *Hōdō* or Vaipulya period of Sakyamuni's teachings; *Nagarjūna* and *Vasubandhu* brought it into the period of *Hannya* or Transcendent Wisdom.

These three men, *As'vaghosha*, *Nagarjūna* and *Vasubandhu*, may be considered the founders of the Mahāyāna philosophy. They stand to Sakyamuni much as Plato stands to Socrates. They teach, not in their own name, but in the name of their master, and yet their teachings are of a far more developed character. The seed thought, however, comes from the Master: it has but grown and flourished in the garden of the disciple's mind; and it would be wrong to suppose the Mahāyāna doctrines to have

emanated entirely from these teachers. They wrote commentaries on Buddhist Scriptures already existing, not the Scriptures themselves. These had been composed before, either in Sakyamuni's life-time, or in the ecstatic period which immediately followed it: and all that they did was to call attention to those mystic and metaphysical truths which had, in the meantime, escaped the general notice. It was their intention to present their thought as a development of their master's teachings. It is presented in the name of Sakyamuni the Tathagata: Asanga invokes and claims to obtain the aid of the great Bodhisatva Maitreya in the composition of the *Yôgachârya Sastra*; and Nagarjûna claims that his teachings have come to him from one of the personal disciples of the Great Founder, who had been waiting for centuries, in an iron tower in Southern India, till the time should come for the doctrines to be revealed. We have clear evidence that all the important books of Japanese Buddhism existed before the times of these sages; consequently, Amida, Kwannon and the Great Buddha of Original Enlightenment were known to Buddhist thought before the coming of Christ; consequently, further, we may conclude that the theistic teachings of later Buddhism are not mere rechauffés of Christian teaching.

Such was the Buddhism which at the commencement of the Christian era entered China. It found in the Chinese a people very different from the Hindoos amongst whom it had originated. In India we have "an imaginative, metaphysical race, who think away matter and hate the physical toil which develops its uses"; in China, "a swarm of plodding utilitarians, sternly adherent to things actual and positive; who insist that the world is the plainest of facts and needs no explanation." "There was the brain, pure thought; here is the muscle, pure labour."⁷

⁷ *Oriental Religions: China*, by Mr. S. Johnson. Boston: Houghton, Miffling & Co.

Yet, practical and apparently indifferent to religion as are the Chinese, the soil upon which Buddhism was to be planted was not absolutely unfitted for its reception. Its ancient patriarchal religion, with its invisible god worshipped by the sovereign on behalf of the people, its time honoured systems of practical morality connected with the venerable names of Confucius and Mencius, its system of mystic divinity, often degenerating into mere magic, founded by Laotse, and known as Taoism,—all these had given to the Chinese mind a religious and devout bent :—whilst at the same time that culture which is of so great value to the reception of religious truth was well represented by its ancient poetry, the taste for which seems to be almost universal.

The introduction of Buddhism to China is said to have been, in a measure, miraculous. At least such is the story, that, in obedience to a dream, the Emperor *Mei* (Chinese *Ming*) sent an embassy to the West to seek a new Truth lately revealed to mankind. It has often been hoped that, in this vision accorded to the Chinese Emperor, we have a confirmation of the New Testament story, of the wise men who came from the East to pay honour to the birth of the Saviour. It is of course within the bounds of possibility that such may have been the case, for the dates of Chinese history at this early period, are not quite accurate; but at any rate the result of the embassy as far as Christianity is concerned must be considered a failure, for the messengers came back with Buddhist scriptures and idols, instead of the faith of the Cross.

Certain features have been noticed as differentiating the Chinese Buddhism from that of India.

It was a long time before it took root. Though encouraged by some of the Emperors, it was in common with Taoism subjected to many penal measures, and even to persecutions, so that it was not till the fourth century A. D.

that it began to take root and definite shape. We wonder at times, and are disappointed, at the tardy results attending Christian Missionary efforts in China, but in proportion to the time devoted to it, the success of the Church has been quite as rapid as that which attended the efforts of the Buddhist propaganda.

Many points in the development of Buddhism in China deserve mentioning, as they form interesting points for comparison with the progress made by Christianity in the west. Whilst Christianity during the first three centuries had to make its way against the most determined opposition of the existing powers, Buddhism was favoured by the powers of the State, to whom it made itself useful, though it met with a bitter opposition from the followers of Laotse and Confucius.

Again, Christianity was fiercely exclusive in the honour which it claimed for Christ : and put the theological side of its Faith before the moral. Buddhism came with an easy tolerance of ancient sages and gods. As it had built itself in India upon the Hindoo pantheon, spiritualized to suit its views, so now it did not seek to overthrow the foundations of Confucius, Mencius, and Laotse, but to build further upon foundations already laid : and, leaving its theological and mystical side in the back-ground, presented, first and above all, the ethical teachings it brought with it. Its earliest text books in China were the Sutra of the Forty-Two Sections, "the Four Verities," and the "Dhammapada,"—ethical books all of them ; and the pre-existing technical terms and moral examples were freely employed in the service of the Buddhist Faith. "It is true," says Mr. S. Johnson, "that a highly speculative Sutra (the *Dasabhūmi*) was translated among the earliest ; but it was to obtain works of a simpler and more ethical nature that Fa Hian travelled to India in the fourth century." Not till eight hundred years after the commencement of

Buddhist missions did the mystical doctrines called the Great Vehicle begin to affect the character of the faith in China.

Not only did Buddhism win its way into the affections of the Chinese people by its wonderful power of adapting and embodying all that was good in the native systems, but it gained much advantage from its powers of organization. "It gave point and system to weak mythological instincts and lent the authority of association and hierarchy to the ascetic impulse."

But above all, Buddhism came as a literary form of thought to a literary nation. There is nothing in the world like the Chinese scriptures of the Mahāyāna. "The Canon in China is seven hundred times the amount of the New Testament. Hienon T'sang's translation of the Prajñā Paramita is twenty-five times as large as the whole Christian Bible." Some idea of the immensity of the Buddhist Chinese Scriptures may be gathered from Mr. Nanjo's Catalogue of the Tripitaka, published by the University of Oxford.

It contains 1662 books, but as in some cases more than a hundred separate Sūtras are included under one title, this number must be very considerably enlarged.

Its arrangement is as follows :

I.—*Sūtra Pīṭaka*. Department (lit. "basket") containing Sūtras or discourses.

(i.) <i>Mahāyāna Sūtras</i> .	Nos.
1. Prajñā Paramita Class	1-22
2. Ratnakuta Class	23-60
3. Mahasamipāta Class	61-86
4. Avatamsaka Class	87-112
5. Nirvāna Class.....	113-125
6. Sūtras excluded from the above classes (duplicated)	126-375

7. Sutras of which there is only one translation, but which are still excluded from the five classes.....	376-541
(ii.) <i>Sutras of the Hinayana.</i>	
1. Agama Sutras. (Some of these contain many Sutras under one title)	542-678
2. Sutras of single translation excluded from the above... ..	679-781
(iii.) <i>Deutero-Canonical Sutras</i> admitted into the Canon after A. D. 960	782-1081
II.— <i>Vinaya Pitaka.</i>	
(i). Vinaya of the Mahâyâna	1082-1106
(ii). Vinaya of the Hinayâna	1107-1166
III.— <i>Abhidharma Pitaka.</i>	
(i). Abhidharma of the Mahâyâna	1167-1260
(ii). Abhidharma of the Hinayâna	1261-1297
Miscellaneous (apocryphal).....	1298-1320
IV.— <i>Miscellaneous Works.</i>	
(i). Indian Works	1321-1467
(ii). Chinese Works	1468-1621
(iii.) Later books admitted to the Canon in or before A. D. 1584.	

One consequence of the immense extent of Chinese Buddhist Literature is that there is an immense field for eclecticism. It is absolutely impossible for any one person to read through and assimilate the whole of the Canon of Scripture. Most men therefore choose a certain number of works only and devote all their attention to these few. This will account very largely for the sectarian subdivisions of Northern Buddhism.

According to the Japanese historian,⁸ the earliest of the Mahâyâna sects to arrive in China, was the Bidon-shū or Abhidharma sect, which was originated during the last

⁸ Rev. Bunyu Nanjo. "A Short History of the Twelve Buddhist Sects." I am much indebted to this book.

decade of the fourth century of our era, but which does not seem to have come to its full development for two centuries after its origination. The Abhidharma Pitaka is that section of the Buddhist Canon which devotes itself to the metaphysical speculations growing out of the religion, and corresponds roughly to the Sapiential books of the Christian or Jewish Canon. A glance at the table above given will show that it contains about two hundred works, more than half of which belong to the Great Vehicle teachings. As a matter of fact, the Hinayāna has but little to do with metaphysical speculation, as it is a teaching meant principally for the lower classes of the religious community. The Metaphysics came with the later developments, when Sakyamuni and his Church, alike in their turns, felt the necessity of a speculative justification of the Faith, as against the metaphysical speculations of a mystic Hindooism quickened into activity by the aggressive encroachments of the younger creed.

A glance at the Catalogue of the Tripitaka will show us the names of many commentaries which will meet us frequently on the subsequent pages of the book. We have commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā* sūtra, one by Asaṅga (No. 1167) and one by Vasubandhu (No. 1168); and a third one combining both the preceding (No. 1231). There is a commentary by Vasubandhu of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka* (No. 1232) which was translated as early possibly as A. D. 336, but certainly during the Northern Wéi dynasty A. D. 386-504; another by the same author, and translated about the same time, of the *Amitāyus sūtra* (No. 1204), and a long one, in 100 volumes, on the lengthy treatise known as the *Mahāprajñā paramitā Sūtra*, which I have already mentioned as being many times the length of the New Testament. Most of the commentaries mentioned in this section are from the pens of As'vaghosha, Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Deva, and others of the great founders of the Mahāyāna School. Of the Shasters of the

Hīnayāna which form a part of this collection, there are some which were translated into Chinese during the first century of our era, but the vast majority of them seem to have put on their Chinese dress during the fifth and sixth centuries, so that we may safely conclude that mystical and metaphysical Buddhism were not much preached in China before that period. Mr. Nanjo especially mentions the Abhidharma Kosa (1267, 1269, 1270) and the Mahāvibhāṣhā Sāstra (1263) as having contributed to the establishment of this school. If moreover we turn from the Abhidharma Section of the Catalogue to the Sūtra pitaka, we shall find that the Sūtras and their Commentaries were introduced into China much at the same time. The establishment of the Mahāyāna school must undoubtedly have been the cause of a great outburst of missionary zeal amongst the Buddhist clergy and laity of India.

Mr. Nanjo gives a list of various sects which in those early days existed in China. I do not give them here. They no longer exist in their native country, but have mostly perpetuated themselves in Japan. It will be sufficient for us to recall them one by one, as we need them, in describing the various sects now existing in Japan.

I have felt it my duty to make some general observations on the growth and development of Buddhism in India and China, as being the countries from which Japan has directly, or indirectly, received her faith in the many Buddhas and the One Buddha. It is now time for us to go on to our main work, the description of Buddhism in Japan.

CHAPTER IV.

It was during the year 522 A.D. that a man named Shiba Tatsu erected the first Buddhist shrine in Japan at the village of Sakatahara in Yamato. Of this first recorded

attempt we have no particulars at all, but it does not seem to have been successful. It was probably unaccompanied by any teaching, as we do not read of any foreign priest having belonged to the mission ; and so speedily passed away.

But when thirty years later an ambassador appeared at the court of the Emperor Kimmel Tennô (30th Emperor, A. D. 540-571) bringing from the King of Kudara, a part of the present Kingdom of Korea, an image of Shaka (I shall henceforth call Sakyamuni by his Japanese name), and several Buddhist works, he was received with marked favour by the King and Prime Minister ; and, in spite of the opposition of the courtiers, a temple was erected and placed under the care of Soga no Inane, the Prime Minister. Soon afterwards, however, an epidemic broke out, which was attributed by the conservatives to the anger of the gods ; the temple was destroyed and the image thrown by the Emperor's command into the sea. As Shintôism is a religious system which has no visible idols, we can perhaps understand some of the feelings of the Japanese at the introduction of image worship. It is not known what form of Buddhism was recommended to the Emperor by the King of Kudara. The names of the books sent are not given. As to the image, some say, as above, that it was an image of Shaka ; and that it was some form of Hīnayāna teachings that was thus presented. The image itself is said to have been miraculously preserved from the sea ; and at the Temple of Tennoji at Ōsaka there is preserved an image of Kwannon, which is said to be the identical image sent by the King of Korea. Unfortunately there is another Temple, the Zenkōji at Nagano, which claims to possess the genuine article,—a triple figure of *Amida*, *Kwannon*, and *Daiseishi* (Skt. Amitābha, Avalokitesvara, and Mahasthāna-prāpta),—and until one or the other claim can be verified, it will be hard to say what was the precise form of Buddhism

introduced. Both stories however agree in saying that the image was cast into the sea and miraculously recovered near Ōsaka, that the Emperor's palace was soon afterwards set on fire by flames which fell from a cloudless sky, and that Okoshi and Kumako, the principal opponents of the new faith, perished in the conflagration. These portents so alarmed the Emperor that he ordered the rebuilding of the Temple; and a further mission of nine priests from Korea took the places of those who had been driven away a few months previously.

Eighteen years after this, in the reign of Bitatsu Tennō, son of the above Emperor. (A. D. 572) there came yet a third mission from Kudara, bringing with them priests, nuns, carpenters, image-makers and diviners, and thus laying the foundation of useful arts in the country. They were all housed in a Temple near Ōsaka, and were favoured, not only by Umako, the Prime Minister, but also by some Japanese of high rank, who had been sent as ambassadors to Korea, and had returned as converts to Buddhism.

In the reign of the next emperor (Yōmei Tenno A.D. 585), who was allied by marriage with the family of that Soga who, in a previous reign, had done what he could as Prime Minister to favour the introduction of Buddhism, the Court did much to push the interests of the new religion, in spite of the strong anti-foreign feeling of a part of the ruling class, who resented the continually increasing influence of Korea. At his death, the popular discontent broke out into open rebellion, which however only ended in the defeat of the Shintōists, and the death of Moriya their leader; and the accession of the new Emperor, Shujun (A. D. 588), practically secured the triumph of Buddhism, at least as far as the Court was concerned. Shujun died after a few years, and was succeeded by the Empress Suiko (A. D. 593), a sister of the Emperor Yōmei. A woman, at the head of affairs in a rough and undisciplined

nation, cannot expect to have as much influence as a man. Still, whatever influence Suiko possessed was exerted on the side of Buddhism ; and the cause of the new religion was fortunately much advanced by the Prime Minister Shōtoku Taishi, who may be said to have done more than any other for the establishment of Buddhism in the land.

Shōtoku's " name has been linked with many legends, which are still current after the lapse of fourteen hundred years." It is said that, even as a babe of four months old, he was able to speak, that he betrayed not only a singular precocity of intellect, but an early piety such as is but rarely met with in the world. His capacity for carrying on many different things at the same time gained for him the nickname of Yatsu mimi no Oji, the Prince of Eight Ears. He seems to have fully understood that Buddhism, with its discipline and organization, was an invaluable ally in the government of a country which was only half-conquered and less than half-civilized. He therefore threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of Buddhism, and did his best to make it *de facto* the established religion of the country ; as he did indeed make it by Imperial Edict in 621. Many new temples were established throughout the country, which was parcelled out into dioceses, with Buddhist bishops and archbishops : the services of the monks were used for practical purposes, such as the construction of roads and bridges, as well as for the more spiritual functions of their profession ; and Japanese priests were sent across the sea to study, in China and elsewhere, the mysteries of the faith, and especially the *Vinaya* or rules of discipline. With Shōtoku Taishi practically ends the Korean period of Japanese Buddhism. Henceforth, the increasing influence of China shows itself in its true light. It was recognized that the Korean was but as the moon in comparison with the brightness of the Chinese Buddhism ; and the Japanese nation henceforth turned to the true source of learning, and investigated

Chinese Buddhism at its native Chinese streams. For the next century we have nothing but a list of the introduction from China of sects, more or less imperfect, all of them based on the incomplete teachings of the Hinayāna system, and destined eventually to make room for more perfect systems of religious philosophy.

For purposes of reference, I give the names of these various early sects with their dates: always premising, that they must be considered as schools of thought within one communion rather than as distinct religious organizations: and that, owing their inception and propagation to Chinese missionaries, they must be considered as alien bodies. Buddhism did not take definite form in Japan until it became an institution entirely in the hands of Japanese priests.

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|-----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Kusha Shū</i> | A. D. 658... | (introduced to Japan.) |
| 2. <i>Jōjitsu Shū</i> | A. D. 625... | " |
| 3. <i>Ris-Shū</i> | A. D. 753 .. | " |
| 4. <i>Hossō Shū</i> | A. D. 653... | " |
| 5. <i>Sanron Shū</i> | A. D. 625... | " |
| 6. <i>Kegon Shū</i> | A. D. 736... | " |

It is not worth our while, with more pressing claims before us, to give a detailed account of the religious teachings of each of these sects. Still a summarized view of the general teachings of these sects may be given, sufficient to enable us to understand the more fully developed views of the later sects.

As the Brahman religion divides mankind into four classes, so Buddha divided his followers also into a corresponding number of divisions; the difference between the two being that, in the one, men are divided by the iron barriers of birth, which they cannot overpass; in the other, spiritual advancement depends on the degrees of spiritual progress.

These four divisions are (i) *S'ravaka* (Jap. *Shamon*) "hearer," a class corresponding very nearly to the

catechumen of the Christian system ; (ii) *Pratyeka buddha* (Jap. Engaku), or instructed believer ; (iii) *Bodhisattva*, (Jap. Bosatsu), one who having comprehended the true meaning of the law has but one more death to face : after which he is born as (iv) *Buddha* (Jap. Butsu or Hotoke), a perfected being who " dieth no more, but is passed from death into life " by the attainment of perfected wisdom.

In the earlier sects which we are now considering, we get the elementary stages of this teaching, as suited to the capacities of the lower grades of believers.

Buddhism, it is said, is as broad as the ocean, yet can all its doctrines be summed up in one short verse

" Abstain from evil, practise thou the good.

Cleansing the heart ; for this is Buddhahood."

It is a verse that even a small boy can remember, but many a grown man has great difficulty in putting it into practice. That which hinders man from walking the path of all the Buddhas is *lust* (*bonnō*), which involves us in a continual chain of *karma*, and causes us perpetually to be reborn in one or other of the six paths of life. These paths (Jap. *Rokudō*) are as follows :—

1. *Jigoku*—the world of hell.
2. *Gaki*—the world of hungry devils.
3. *Chikushō*—the world of beasts.
4. *Shūra*—the world of disembodied spirits.
5. *Jin*—the world of man.
6. *Ten*—the world of heaven.

In one or other of these paths, or spheres, or worlds, we are continually being born, living, or dying, until we grasp the law, and following its sure guidance advance step by step through the three grades of discipleship ; until at last we reach to the highest stage of perfected Buddhahood. Buddhism presents its teachings, as we have seen, in very graded forms, to suit all capacities.

To the lowest stage of intelligent beings it presents a form of teaching which may be described as

Nintengyō, the relations between man and Heaven ; or, as we might put it in Christian terminology, the duty towards God and the duty towards one's neighbour. It inculcates in the first place a loving respect for the three precious things—Buddha, the Law, and the Church (*sambō no takara*)—and enjoins upon the believer the observance of the five moral precepts (*go hai*).

1. Abstain from taking life.
2. Abstain from theft and dishonesty.
3. Abstain from all lewdness.
4. Abstain from untrue words.
5. Abstain from intoxicants.

From these five prohibitory precepts the believer is taught to practise the ten virtuous actions which spring as it were out of them (*jū zen*).

1. Not to take life, but, on the contrary, to show all the kindness in our power.

2. Instead of theft and dishonesty, liberality.

3. Chastity, instead of mere abstinence from adultery.

4. Truth-speaking, in the place of abstinence from lying.

5. The use of words calculated to produce and preserve harmony amongst men.

6. The avoidance of vulgar expressions and the use of words of refinement.

7. Plain speaking, as opposed to a false or exaggerated style of expression.

8. The avoidance of nucleon thoughts by moral considerations.

9. Charity and patience, instead of wrath.

10. The cultivation of a pure intention, as including in it all the above commandments.

This forms the lowest class of teachings which are within the reach of those who are very little advanced in spiritual power. The man who is in the lowest class of Buddhism (the *Shōmon*) is taught that if, in his present state of development,

he performs these duties, reverencing the precious things and keeping the commandments, he will certainly meet with his reward; for the partial sanctity thus attained will enable him to advance to the practice of those higher duties which are required from the Pratyeka Buddha or Engaku.

It will be seen that in the first stage, the Shōmon is taught his duty as a child is taught,—the command is given, but no reason is assigned. In the second or Engaku stage, the commandments do not much differ but the reasons for each are given. Thus the Engaku is taught to look to a motive power within for his moral life, instead of to a power urging him from without. The secret of the Engaku stage is, therefore, the development of a reasoning conscience. The Engaku, consequently, is taught (still within the limits of the Lesser Vehicle) the constitution of the world, as the cause and explanation of that moral life which he has already learned to follow blindly.

As there are four classes of religious people, so there are four states of existence;—the world of desire (Sahā-loka or Kāma-loka, Jap. *Yokukai*), where the gross desires rule, and produce gross matter; the world of form (Jap. *Shikikai*), where substance is spiritual, and can be seen but not felt or heard; and the world of invisibility (Jap. *Mushikikai*), where existence can be perceived by means of none of the organs, but only by the intelligence. Above and beyond all these, is the world where Existence ceases and Essence only remains, and this is called Nirvāna. The curious will find a great deal to illustrate this doctrine in the speculations of Spinoza, and in Swedenborg's Treatise on Heaven and Hell.

In order to pass safely through these spheres of life, or world he must understand—

(i.) The FOUR VERITIES (*shi tai*), which are subdivided as follows: (a) *dukka* "pain," i.e. the pain of inheritance,

that pain which is the result of former actions ; the pain of life,—birth, existence and death, being alike subject to pain ; the pain of experience, which comes to us, as we learn the changeableness and inconstancy of this phenomenal world.

(b) *Samudaya*, the “ effects of pain,” or “ the generation of suffering.”

(c) *Nirodha* (Jap. *metsu*), “ the destruction of suffering.”

(d) *Marga* (*ḍḍ*) the path leading to the destruction of suffering ; when by the patient practice of precepts, contemplation and wisdom we reach to the supreme bliss of Nirvana.

And (ii.) The TWELVE CAUSES, or the twelve-fold chain of causation (*Jū ni inuen*) :

1. The lusts and desires of previous life.
2. The deeds and sins of previous life.
3. The mind at the commencement of uterine life.
4. The first five weeks of uterine life.
5. The perfection of eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, thoughts, during the uterine life. (The six roots.)
6. The period of birth, when the organs formed in the previous state come into separate existence, but are as yet unconscious of joy or pain.
7. The development of infantile life, with joy and pain connected with the organs of bodily sense.
8. The lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes.
9. The pride of life, which impels a man to run hither and thither in search of actions which produce a new karma of good or evil.
10. The completion of karma in this life, and its consequence, death.
11. New life according to the karma produced in No. 9.
12. The Completion of all karma by attainment to Nirvana.

When the believer has mastered this second stage he has practically mastered all the body of saving truth, contained in the Lesser Vehicle, and is ready to advance from the condition of an Engaku (Pratyeka Buddha) to that of a Bosatsu, or candidate for the full perfection of the Buddhahood.

When a man reaches this stage of development there arises within him a great desire, not only to save himself but to save others, and he conceives in himself a four-fold desire, which takes effect in a six-fold practice of transcendental virtue.

The fourfold desire.

(i.) That though living Creatures are innumerable, he desires to save them all ;

(ii.) That though passions and lusts are infinite, he desires to conquer them all ;

(iii.) That though the doctrines of Buddhism are innumerable, he desires to learn them all.

(iv.) That though the final salvation is incalculably high, he desires to attain to it.

In order to carry out these vows, he practises the six-fold transcendental virtue of the Bodhisat ;

1. Almsgiving and preaching—*i. e.* distribution of bodily and spiritual food.

2. Obedience to precepts ;

3. Patience, long suffering, and self restraint.

4. Manliness, (Skt. *vīrya*).

5. Contemplation.

6. Wisdom.

I am indebted for this exposition of the earlier stages of Buddhism to a paper kindly written for me by the Venerable Abbot Kobayashi, Principal of the Daidan Rin College, Takanawa, Tōkyō. The student of Japanese will find some admirable articles on this subject in a magazine, entitled *Juzenkaizasshi*, ably edited by the Rev. S. Unsho of the Shingon sect.

Armed with these teachings and aids, the believer is now able to work out his own salvation. It is a salvation which is indeed possible to man's unaided efforts, if we postulate, as Buddhism does, a long series of successive lives in which the work is continually carried on. But what man, how much less a Japanese, would have patience to work at a salvation, the ultimate accomplishment of which can only be arrived at after the lapse of "three immeasurable periods of time" ? It is practically an impossibility, and no religion can be attractive which sets an impossible object before the human mind. The subsequent history of Japanese Buddhism will show us a series of attempts to bring that ultimate salvation nearer to mankind, and to make it easier of attainment.

In conclusion, we cannot wonder that this form of doctrine should have failed to take root amongst the Japanese. The patient Hindoo, or the industrious Chinaman, may be contented to wait and labour for hope long deferred. We cannot blame the ardent Japanese for longing for something which shall place the object of his soul's strivings more within the sphere of "practical politics."

CHAPTER V.

The popular Buddhism of the Vaipulya School, which came to Japan with the Ritsu, Jōjitsu, Hossō and other sects, had prepared the mind of the people for that change in the teachings of Buddhism, which was sure to come with the progress of the religion. It had taught the people to reverence a certain number of Buddhas and Buddhist saints, some of them companions and disciples of Shaka, and others pure creations of fancy, or borrowed from the mythological systems of India. Such were *Fu-tō* (Acala) whose image, a black figure surrounded with flames, stands conspicuously in many an ancient temple, and in whose honour is dedicated the picturesque shrine

at Meguro which is so well known to all residents of Tōkyō; *Jizō* (Kshitigarbha), whom popular suffrage has erected into a helper of all those who are in trouble. His stone image, holding a pilgrim's staff in one hand, and a ball (symbolic of wisdom) in the other, is frequently seen by the road sides in the country; for *Jizō* is the patron saint of travellers, and is frequently turned to practical use as a sign post. It is also frequently covered with stones piled up by the piety of passers-by; for, in the next world, *Jizō* is the patron of little children, whose souls, falling into the hands of an ugly old hag on the banks of the Sōdzugawa, (one of the Stygian streams), are compelled to perform the endless task of piling up stones on the river bank, before they are allowed to recover the clothes of which they have been robbed. Another popular deity is *Bindzuru* (Skt. Pindola), one of the sixteen Rakan (Arhats) that formed the bodyguard of the great Teacher, whose red image at Asakusa and other famous places of worship, is supposed to have miraculous power of healing; and the traveller who passes through Shiba Park will often hear the big drums which are on solemn occasions beaten with great noise at the temple of *Emma San*, who is a Buddhist edition of the Hindoo Yama, the god of hell.

But the most popular of all these mythological conceptions is undoubtedly the Goddess *Kannon*, the deity of mercy, whose Temple at Asakusa in Tōkyō is one of the most popular shrines in the country, and who figures more than any other deity in the literature and legend of Japan. Originally, a male deity (Skt. Avalokitesvara), she has changed her sex in her travels through China and Japan, and appears to her devotees in the greatest variety of forms. In the Mangwanji Temple at Nikkō she has three faces and four pairs of arms, whilst above the central face there is a fourth head, the head of a horse; in the same place she is represented as the 'thousand-handed one,' though

on her image there is actually room for not more than forty of these arms. In other places she appears as eleven-faced,—indeed, as she has had one thousand different incarnations, there seems to be no limit to the forms under which she is represented.

But all these mediæval Buddhist saints lack in moral conception. They help mankind in difficulties; it is impossible to read an old story without coming across some tale of the marvellous interposition of one or other of these personages on behalf of their worshippers; but they do not seem to do anything to improve their moral and spiritual condition. I have for instance, read a Buddhist novel which records the assistance given to a virtuous country maiden by the goddess Kwannon, who, to reward the girl for her filial piety, enables her to become the wife of one of the principal nobles of the Court, quite regardless of the fact that the noble in question has already got a wife, who has to be discarded to make room for the heroine of the tale.

In the period of Enriaku (A. D. 782–806), the Emperor Kwammu Tennō, founded Kyōto as the capital of his Empire, and in order to obtain for his enterprise the blessing of Heaven, he built on the adjacent mountain of Hiyeizan, a monastery which was destined to play an important part in the religious history of the country. As head of this religious community he selected a priest of great sanctity, Dengyō Daishi, whom he sent with a few companions to China, to study the latest developments of Buddhism.

Whilst in China, Dengyō Daishi and his companions came to the monastery of *Tientai* which had been founded towards the end of the sixth century of our era, on a lofty range of mountains in the province of Chehkiang, by the celebrated preacher Chikai, better known by his posthumous name of Chisha Daishi (Daishi=great teacher.).

Chisha was not indeed the originator of the doctrines taught by the sect which takes its name from the mountain on which stands its principal monastery. He only developed teachings which he had received from *Emon* a few years previously, and Emon had found the germ of his teaching in that very remarkable work, the *Saddharma pundarika*, or 'Lotus of the Good Law.'

Of the sects then existing in China, each seemed to have a different system. Some, as for instance, the *Abhidharma* sects, gave long lists of categories and antitheses, and sought to define the truth with a more than Aristotelian precision of detail. Others again, such as the *Jōdo*, or Pure Land Sect, established in China as early as 400 B.C., sought to lead men to salvation by faith alone, whilst the *Dhyāna* or Contemplative sects which had arrived in China from India only a few years previous to the foundation of the *Tendai* monastery, maintained, with great vehemence, that abstract contemplation was the sufficient and true method to come to a knowledge of saving Truth. It was the thought of Emon, afterwards expanded by Chikai, and transmitted by Dengyō Daishi to Japan, that "the true method" is found neither in book-learning, nor external practice, nor ecstatic contemplation; neither in the exercise of reason, nor the reveries of fancy; but that there is a middle condition, a system which includes all and rejects none, to which all others gravitate, and in which alone the soul can be satisfied." This system Emon and his followers found, or professed to find, in the *Saddharma pundarika Sutra*, an important Scripture of which I here venture to give an analysis.

In a large assembly of all classes of hearers, at the monastery of *Rajagriha*, on the Vulture's Peak, the Buddha

⁹ Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 247.

has finished a discourse on the Law, after which he falls into an ecstatic condition of deep meditation during which he is visibly transfigured before them; and from his brow there issues a ray of light of extraordinary brightness. The whole audience is astonished, and Maitreya asks the meaning of the portent, whereupon Manjusri replies that, from former experience, he knows it to be a sign that the Lord intends to deliver a great discourse, containing some fresh revelation of the Truth.

Presently, the Buddha emerges from his meditation, and, addressing Sariputra, commences a discourse on the Buddha-knowledge, the highest, indeed the only, vehicle of knowledge. Hitherto, the law has been preached in different manners, according to the advancement of those who heard it; from henceforth he declares that there is but one vehicle—the Buddha Vehicle,—by which those to whom it is given may at once attain to the full perception of Buddhahood, without waiting for the long process of the ages; and that this is Nirvana, viz., the perfecting of wisdom and knowledge. This revelation rather astonishes Sariputra, for the whole of that audience had been hitherto under the opinion that Nirvana was a negation, and consisted in freedom from all false views, and were now much distressed at finding another Nirvana set before them to which they had not yet attained. This difficulty the Lord meets by the parable of the burning house, in which there are playing a number of mischievous children, utterly blind to their danger. To bring them out from the danger, their father offers them a variety of toys, according to their tastes. When they have safely escaped, he gives to each of them one toy, the same to all, but that toy far exceeds all that he had promised. Such are the temporary expedients of Buddhism, as compared with the one Truth of which they are the preparatives.

Before telling this parable, Buddha has foretold the future greatness of Sariputra, as a reward for the readiness with which he has believed this new revelation of the Buddha-knowledge. This gives Subhûti, Kasyapa, and one or two other disciples, the opportunity of speaking about the joys of predestination. "Though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas, and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We had not sought nor searched nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel." To this the Lord answers that what he has taught now is nothing new :—the teaching of the Buddha is like the rain which falls impartially on all soils, and waters here one plant and there another ; or like the clay which is always the same, though it serves to make vessels of the most different qualities ; whilst the Buddha himself is like the oculist who, step by step, as the eye can bear it, introduces the light of the sun to the vision of the blind man. It is not therefore Sariputra alone that is destined to Supreme Enlightenment, but four others are joined with him in this supreme felicity. Then, in order to show that his knowledge refers to the past as well as to the present, he gives an account of the sixteen Great Buddhas who have preceded him in the course of the world, and proceeds to announce the destiny of Ananda, Râhula, and the five hundred monks who form a part of his audience.

He then proceeds to expound the method in which the Lotus Law is to be preached. The preacher must assume the robe of the Tathâgata, enter his abode, and occupy his pulpit. The abode of the Tathâgata is "the abiding in charity (or kindness) to all beings : the robe is "the apparel of sublime forbearance" : the pulpit is "the complete abstraction of all laws" :—and the text of the

sermon is apparently Nirvana in its highest sense,—the knowledge of the Tathāgata,—the original Tathāgata of whom Sakyamuni is but a later manifestation.

As the Buddha thus preaches, there appears to his audience a Stupa containing the true relics of the Buddha—the essential being of the original Buddha :—wherever in any world, the highest lotus law is preached,—that is the body of the Tathāgata :—and again is manifested the identity between the original Buddha, and the historical Buddha that sat before his audience. The audience now promise that they will, in spite of opposition, preach the Law throughout the world, and the Buddha promises them the brightest of all his jewels, the jewel of eternal rest.

We are now shown a vision of the future :—multitudes which no man can number arise through the gaps in the earth to hear the preaching of the Buddha,—and yet they have all been in the past also the disciples of the same Lord. For his life is immense in the past as well as the future, and the belief in him is the cause of all blessedness.

The genuine portion of the Sūtra then ends with a miraculous display in which the identity of Sakyamuni with Prabhūta ratna (the original Buddha) is once more displayed.¹⁰

From the imperfect account which I have given of the Sutra (anyone acquainted with Buddhist Sutras will

¹⁰ I say the genuine portion, because there are other six chapters which however are supposed to be later additions. See Introduction to Kern's translation of the Saddharma pundarika, vol. xxi. of the Sacred Books of the East. One of the chapters "on spells" contains the veriest rubbish that the mind of man can well conceive; and I can but hope that when the Higher Criticism gets to work amongst the Buddhist Scriptures, it will succeed in dislodging all such rubbish from the teachings of Sakyamuni's followers. Buddhism will have to clear itself from all complicity with spells, charms, and talismans.

know how difficult they are to analyse), it will be seen that the central thought of the Lotus Law is this :—Sakyamuni the Tathāgata is identical with the Tathāgata of Original Enlightenment, a being known by several names, (but especially in this Sutra by the name of Prabhūtaratna); and wherever his law is preached there is his body in a collective form. Nirvana consists in the knowledge of this Tathāgata, and he who gains this knowledge enters at once upon Buddhahood.

Upon this foundation Chikai built his system. If this knowledge be the Saving Knowledge, how are we to attain to it? Chikai answers that as the chariot has two wheels and the bird two wings, so meditation and wisdom are the two powers by which we may rise to the knowledge of the Buddha Nature. In order to do this Chikai gives the following means.

I. Accomplishment of external means.

1. To observe the precepts purely and perfectly.
2. To regulate clothing and food.
3. The choice of a suitable home.
4. Freedom from all worldly concerns and influences.
5. The promotion of all virtuous desires.

II. Chiding of evil desires. The believer is to make an effort to conquer,

1. The lust after beauty.
2. The lust of sound,
3. The lust of perfumes,
4. The lust of taste,
5. The lust of touch.

Having succeeded in chiding his desires, he is now to go on to,

III. Casting away hindrances :—Covetousness, anger, sloth, restlessness, unbelief. He is next to,

IV. Harmonize the faculties, *i.e.* adjust his limbs, and regulate his breath etc.; and then he will be able to enter upon,

V. The Meditation of Absolute Truth.¹¹

Such was a portion of Chikai's system, but in the Tendai Sect in Japan there is a further development of doctrine, which seems to be of the greatest interest. We have already seen that the connection between the Buddha of Original Enlightenment and the historical Sakyamuni is very close, and very possibly some of my readers will have seen in it an analogy to the close relationship existing between the Father and the Son of Christian Theology. In the *action of Vairocana* which is the highest yāna or vehicle of salvation we shall find a striking similarity to the Holy Ghost of the Christian verities.

The moral precepts were, it is said,¹² first received by Shaka from a Buddha named Vairocana, who was a sort of go-between between Shaka and the Buddha of Original Enlightenment. This Buddha Vairocana, further, is said to have handed down, through Vajrasattva and others, a doctrine entitled the Action of Vairocana, whereby is produced the secret union between the soul of the individual and the soul of the universe, thus, as it were, foreshadowing the work which the Christian believes is done by the Holy Spirit.

When we come to consider the Shingon sect we shall hear a great deal about Vairocana. It will perhaps be well to say a few words about him in this place.

If the visitor to the tomb of the Forty Seven Ronins in Shiba, Tōkyō, will continue his walk towards Shinagawa for a couple of hundred yards, he will come to the Temple of *Nyorai-ji* in which he will see five gigantic images of the Buddhas of Contemplation. Their names are Yakushi (Bhaichagyaguru), Tahō (Prabhutaratna), Dainichi (Vairocana), Ashuku (Akshobhya), and Shaka.

These five Buddhas of Contemplation are very different to the Buddhas, Jizō, Fudō, Kwannon, mentioned at the

¹¹ Beal's *Catena*.

¹² Nanjo's *History of XII Buddhist Sects*, p. 73.

commencement of this chapter. They are with the exception of Shaka, ideal personages, personifications of those qualities of Wisdom which we associate with God.

But it will be seen from the following extract¹³ that the Dhyâni Buddhas were, in an earlier stage of development, not five but three.

“Once I heard the following discourse (said Ananda) while the Blessed One was stopping at Rajagriha on the Vulture’s Peak, together with an innumerable number of bodhisattvas, devas and nâgas who were doing him homage. Then from out this company, the Bodhisattva Kshitigarba, who was also there, arose from his seat, and spoke as follows to the Blessed One: ‘Has the Blessed One a body?’ The Blessed One said ‘Kshitigarba, the Blessed One, has three bodies: the body of the law, the body of perfect enjoyment, the apparitional body. . . . Purity in the abode of the soul, the science like a mirror, is the body of the law; purity in the abode of the sinful mind is the science of equality; purity in the perceptions of the mind, the science of thoroughly analysing, is the body of perfect enjoyment; purity in the abode of the perceptions of the five doors, the science of the achievement of what must be done, is the apparitional body.’ . . . If we refer to the work of the Chinese Buddhist Jin Ch’an we find that Dharmakâya has become Vairocana (the omnipresent) Sambhogakâya is called Rajana (*i.e.* the infinitely pure or glorious), and Nirmânakâya is Sakyamuni. “Now these three Tathâgatas are all included in one substantial essence. The three are the same as one: not one, and yet not different; without parts or composition. When regarded as one, the three persons are spoken of as Tathâgata. But, it may be asked, if the persons are one substance, how is it that this one substance is differently

¹³Rockhill’s *Life of the Buddha*. Trübner’s Oriental Series, p. 100.

manifested? In reply we say that there is no real difference; these manifestations are only different views of the same unchanging substance."

But we must not suppose that the Tendai teachings are as simple, and (if I may be allowed the expression) as orthodox, as I have described.

Dengyodaishi was not the only priest sent over at this time to study in China. We have the names of learned priests, such as Jikakudaishi and others belonging to this sect. Nor was the Saddharma pundarika the only Sutra studied. Dengyo himself based his teachings on other books as well, such as the "Sûtra of the Great Decease." Nor is it the habit of Japan blindly to borrow any foreign system. It has always been the practice of the Japanese to adapt what they borrow so as to fit it to what they possess. And therefore the Japanese system of Tendai is in reality a system of Japanese eclecticism, fitting the disciplinary and meditative methods of Chisha Daishi on to the preexisting foundations of the previous sects. Hence it comes that the Buddhas worshipped in various Tendai temples are so very various. In some there is a Trinity, such as I have above explained, whilst in others, *i.e.* in all those temples which trace their descent from the temple of *Mi-i-dera*, Amida, the Buddha of Infinite Life and Light, is the sole object of worship. Hence too in the same temple, *e.g.* at Nikkō, meditation is practised in two ways,—according to the Sukhāvati Vyūha Sūtra, and according to the Saddharma pundarika Sutra. In the one, the devotee prefaces his meditation by the cry *Namuamida butsu*: in the other by the repeated invocation of *Namumyō hōren-gekyō*.

The comprehensiveness of the Tendai System has caused it to be the parent of many schisms. It tried to reconcile contradictory systems, and, sooner or later, the contradictories were bound to come to the light and to separate. All the larger sects, with the exception of the

Shingon, have come out of the Tendai. The founder of the Japanese Zen was originally a priest of Tendai; the Amida-worshipping sects of Jōdo and Shinshū, and the noisy followers of Nichiren, with their cries of *Namumyō-hōren-gekyō*, have all originated from the same religious house on Hiyeizan.

On the other hand, this comprehensiveness ensured the success of the Tendai Sect. With the conception of the Dhyāni Buddhas came the idea that these fantastic personages had frequently been incarnated for the welfare of mankind. Had they left Japan all these centuries without a trace of their presence? No,—the ancient gods, whom the Japanese worshipped, were but manifestations of these same mystical beings, and the Buddhist faith had come, not to destroy the native Shintō, but to embody it into a higher and more universal system. From that moment, the triumph of Buddhism was secured. Just as an ancient Chinese priest is represented as wearing the hat of a Confucianist, the shoes of a Taoist, and the scarf of a Buddhist priest, so Buddhism in Japan learned to be both Confucian and Shintō in turns, and the triumph of the organized faith was secured.

The monastery at Hiyeizan became very famous and rich; at one time it numbered as many as 3,000 monks, and was the most powerful centre of Buddhist life, until Nobunaga, the political supporter of the Jesuit Missions, destroyed it in consequence of the aid which its denizens had given to his opponents. Since that time Hiyeizan has never recovered its former prosperity, and the mother-sect of Tendai has been far outstripped by the growing popularity of her undutiful daughters.

CHAPTER VI.

When we come to the history of the Shingon Sect, we come to what is most mysterious in Buddhist

doctrines. At the same time, when we come to consider the life of its founder, Kukai, now known as Kōbō Daishi, we come to what is most romantic. With the sole exception of Nichiren, none of the Buddhist Apostles of Japan has been so well known for what he has done and suffered, or has so deeply impressed his personality upon the nation at large.

Whilst Dengyō Daishi was labouring (successfully as we have seen) to establish in Japan, with such modifications as local circumstances required, the system which Chishō Daishi had set up in his monastery of Tendai, the priest Kukai was also labouring at a very different system, the germ of which he did indeed receive in his own country, but which he fully developed during a visit to China, which was almost contemporary with the visit of Dengyō Daishi.

Born in 776 A.D. in the small village of Biobugama, in the province of Sanuki, he could trace his descent to one of the followers of the celebrated Prince Yamatodake no Mikoto, the conqueror of the Emishi, or aboriginal inhabitants of the main island of Japan. Ere Kukai (he had several names previous to this, but we will give him the name by which he was best known during his life-time)—ere Kukai was born, his mother dreamed that the spirit of some great Indian Saint had entered her body; and the vision seemed to be verified, when the infant came into the world with his hands folded in the attitude of prayer. The boy himself seems to have been haunted by dreams predicative of his future greatness, and to have impressed the villagers with the notion of sanctity. It is said that a governmental official, visiting the village, dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself before the lad of nine, because, as he said, the child seemed to be under the almost visible protection of the Four Deva Kings. A boy of such pre-eminent sanctity could not fail to realize his vocation to the priesthood, and accordingly his whole education tended in that direction. He was trained at

first by his uncle at home, and afterwards received a course of Chinese classics at Kyōto, the newly established seat of the empire, after which he wrote his first book *Sankyō Shūki*; in which, after comparing the three then prevalent systems of Confucius, Mencius and Buddhism, he gave his reasons for accepting the last as his guide in life; and soon after entered the priesthood (A. D. 791.) But his profession of religion did not bring with it peace of mind; and he appears to have wandered about for two years in great distress, until he once more met with Ishibuchi Gonzo, the priest who had taught him Buddhism in Kyōto, and retired with him to the Temple of Makiō in Izumi, from which he shortly afterwards removed to the Temple of Todaiji in Nara. During this period he seems to have been once more assaulted with spiritual temptations, and there is a story of how being attacked by evil demons at Cape Muroto in Tosa, he overcame the evil one by a flash of light which issued from his mouth in answer to his prayer. But, if his spiritual condition had its griefs, it had also its joys, as for instance, when, entering a temple, he was accosted by the widow of the former incumbent, as a long-foretold Bodhisattva who had appeared at the very moment when he was expected.

One day, he had a dream which had a great influence on his future development: for he was instructed by it to go to the monastery of Kume, at Takaichi, in Yamato, and there to study a celebrated but difficult Sutra which was there preserved. This Sutra (*Mahāvairocana vaipulya Sutra*: Jap. *Dainichikyō*) afterwards became the foundation of all his system of study. It was indeed a very difficult book, and he seems to have made little progress with it, until he went to China to have it more fully explained. It is said that this Sutra was brought to Japan by an Indian priest of the name of Zennui, who deposited it in the Temple at Takaichi, saying that he left it there as a legacy till a Bosatsu should appear capable

of understanding its hidden meaning. This fact seems to point to the great activity of these Mahāyāna missionaries. Even in a remote village in Japan were they to be found at work.

In the year 804 he got his wish, and was sent as a government student to China. On his way he had a miraculous deliverance from tempest which reads very like our Lord's stilling of the sea. (We shall find an almost similar incident in connection with one of the founders of the Contemplative sect of the Zen).

Of old, when Holy Kōbō sailed.

To China, there to seek the Law,

From lips of Indian priests, who saw
Truths that from mortal view are veiled,

A mighty storm arose, with waves

High as the mountain-tops, and gales,

That broke the masts, and tore the sails,

And deeps that opening yawn'd like graves.

The sailors feared the tempest's height,

Plying the oar with might and main,

And cried for succour, but in vain ;

No help was near, no friendly light.

But Kōbō, on the heaving deck,

Counting his beads, with eyes in air,

Stood deeply wrapped in quiet prayer,

As one that feared nor storm nor wreck.

Then, when the howling waves and wind

Beheld the quiet form, that stood,

And braved the furies of their mood,

Daring their strength with placid mind,

The wind lost heart and ceased to fight ;

The waves, that round the vessel dashed,

Conceiving shame, sank down abashed ;

And, lo ! the haven was in sight.

His principal place of study seems to have been a temple called Serinji at Chōan, where his spiritual power seems at once to have been recognized. Keka, the head of the monastery recognized him at once as a person of sanctity, and without delay administered to him the initiating ceremony of Kwanjō (Abhisheka), which seems to have a very strong resemblance to Christian baptism. At this service of initiation Kōbō is said to have had a kind of transfiguration, and the presence of Vairocana (of whom more anon) seems to have been so distinctly recognized, that there could be no doubt that Kōbō was designated to be one of the successors of that mysterious Buddha. This was subsequently confirmed by many visions and dreams, and finally Keka, on his deathbed, announced that Kōbō was designated as the patriarch of the Shingon sect, and that the spirit of Vairocana was incarnated in him.

During his stay in China he seems also to have acquired that skill in penmanship, for which he was subsequently so famous in his own country. It is said that even great Buddhas did not disdain to appear upon earth, in order to challenge him to a friendly contest of skill.

In the year 806, having gained all that could be gained in China, he determined to return to his native country, and there plant that "form of *true words*" (Shingon) which he had learned. Many miracles attested to his countrymen the presence of a great teacher. A vajra (or mace) which he threw into the air in China was afterwards found sticking in a tree on Kōya San; and on the spot thus miraculously pointed out he afterwards erected the temple which is still the headquarters of the Shingon sect. On another occasion, as he was praying on a treeless islet, a grove of trees grew up suddenly around him: on another, a manifestation of spiritual and angelic forms is said to have accompanied his preaching. It was

a new thing for a man to be a visible incarnation of the Buddha, and we are not astonished to hear of much opposition being offered to this *Zokushinjobutsu* (becoming a Buddha whilst still in the mortal body); but Kōbō seems to have overcome the suspicions of his adversaries by ever-repeated manifestations of the divine power residing in him. It was said that a swarm of wasps were charmed away by his voice in one place, that in another a devil fled before him as he recited the Hannya Kyō, and that a shower of rain fell in answer to his powerful prayer.

In the year 835 Kōbō felt that his work had come to an end, and so, after appointing his successor, he awaited his death in the temple of Koya which he himself had founded. But the veneration of his followers would not allow him to be mortal. In the common story he is still sitting at rest within his tomb among the giant cryptomerias of Koya San, awaiting the advent of the great Buddha Maitreya or Miroku, at whose coming he shall once more emerge from his tomb and visit the scenes he loved so well.¹⁴

It is certain that many of the legends which have attached themselves to the person of the Saint are false. But the fact that so many legends have gathered around him, and that even to-day the worshippers of this sect worship, not Vairocana pure and simple, but Vairocana incarnated in Kōbō Daishi, shows us that we are here in the presence of some great man. Legend does not adhere to mediocrity, it is only genius that can keep popular imagination centred in itself.

We shall still more feel the greatness of his genius, when we come into the presence of his system of teaching, which, from whatever source he derived it, is clearly

¹⁴ Taken from a Japanese life of Kōbō Daishi.

an innovation.¹⁵ If we define a Buddhist as a follower of Sakyamuni, then Kōbō Dai-shi is no Buddhist; for, as a Shingon priest remarked to me the other day, "we do not make much of Shaka in our sect." Based on the mysterious personage of Vairocana, it would perhaps be more properly called Vairocanism; viewed, however, in the light of the influence exerted upon it by its Japanese founder, it can have no better name given it than Kōbōism.

The current expositions of Buddhism he asserts (in common with the whole Mantra sect to which he belongs) to be true as far as they go, but imperfect. It is a temporary expedient, suitable to the needs of ordinary men. But just as Swedenborg maintained that under the apparent literal sense of the Holy Scriptures there lurks a spiritual sense, which none can apprehend but those who have mastered the divine science of correspondences, so in Kōbō's estimation there is also a secret doctrine of Buddhism, a doctrine of more than transient value, which he has to propound to his fellow countrymen.

As the centre of his system (I put it first, though it is probably the last reached by the searcher) he postulates the Great Buddha Vairocana,—a being anterior to Sakyamuni, and greater than him.

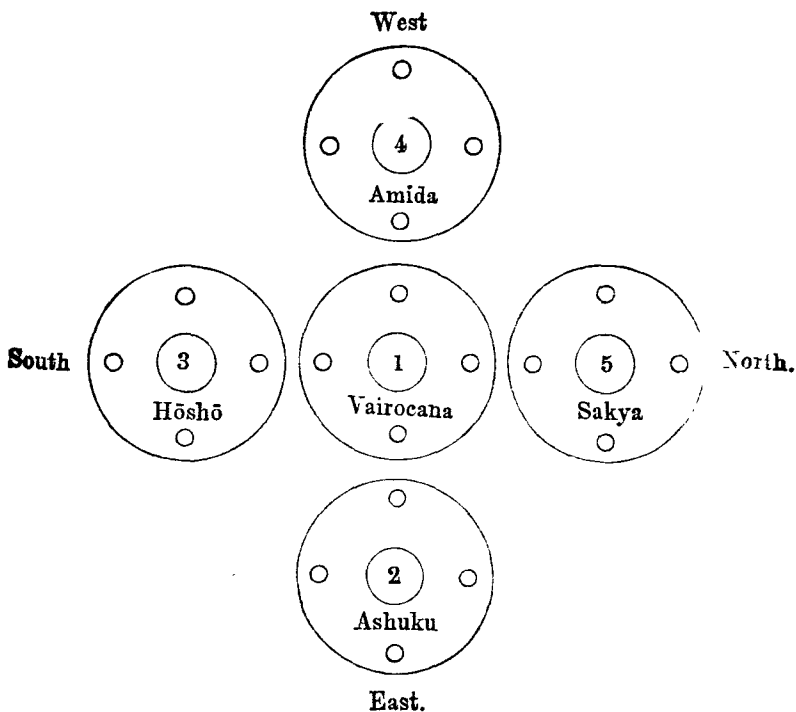
Very little is known about this Buddha,¹⁶ but he is represented as the spirit of Truth, which taught Sakyamuni,

¹⁵ The fact that the *Dainichi Kyō*, *Kongōchō Kyō* and *Soshitchi Kyō*, three of the principal books relied upon by this sect are classed by Nanjo in his Catalogue (Nos. 528, 529, 530) amongst the doubtful Sutras, "of which there is but one translation, and which are excluded from the five Classes," seems to point a later origin. It is also a significant fact that all three are wanting in the Tibetan Canon.

¹⁶ In the "Vocabulaire de l'Analyse du Kandjour" which appears in the "Annales du Musée Guimet" for 1881, *Vairocana* is described as the first of the five Dhyani Buddhas, and as the most perfect of the Bodhisattvas. He appears as one of the

and then in later times inspired Vajrasattva, and a succession of patriarchs down to the times of Kōbō, with his divine illumination. From his Japanese name of *Dainichi* (Great Sun) it is clear that he is considered as a source of light, intellectual and spiritual, and as a centre of life around which can group itself a planetary system of subsidiary Buddhas and angels.

From the accompanying diagram, it will be seen that whilst Vairocana is the sun, the four principal planets revolving round him are (2) Akshobhya, or Ashuku, (3) Ratnasambhava, or Hōshō (4) Amitabha, or Amida, (5) Amoghasiddhi, or Fukū jō ju, *i.e.*, Sakyamuni.



interlocutors in some of the Sūtras; is honoured with the title of Bhagavat; and his name is sometimes first, sometimes second, and sometimes third in order, of the beings thus honoured. In the same vocabulary we find *Vajrasattva* (Jap. Kongō shitsu) mentioned as the president of the five Dhyanī Buddhas, and

Again, as in the planetary system, each planet revolves not only around the sun, but on its own axis; taking with it one or more subsidiary satellites, to which each acts as a subsidiary sun, so each of the five Dhyâni Buddhas has revolving round him a set of Bodhisattvas of corresponding qualities.

Each Bodhisattva again has his own subsidiary planetary system, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. Now, if we remember that Vairocana and his four great satellites are Dhyâni Buddhas, "Buddhas of Contemplation"—imaginary beings, representing the One Truth and its four constituent elements; and that each subsidiary planetary system represents a further subdivision of the general *idea*, conveyed by Amida, Sakya and the rest, we have at once the picture before us of a *world of ideas*, all grouped logically and systematically according to genera and species, so as to be summed up in one comprehensive whole.

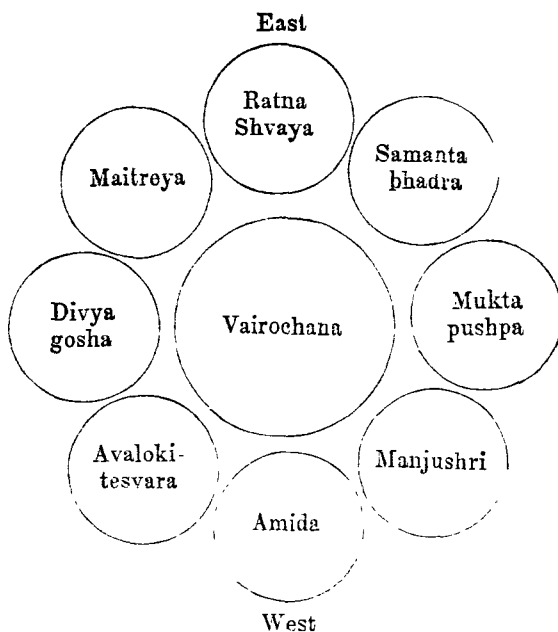
To this "world of ideas," unchangeable and everlasting, having no existence in reality, but existing only in universal thought, the Shingon sect gives the name of Kongôkai (Vajradhātu), the *diamond world*, *i.e.*, a world possessing all the strength, brilliancy and endurance of the diamond.

Corresponding to the diamond world, is the *womb element* or *Taijôkai* (Gharbha dhātu)

Here again, Vairocana is the centre, but not, as before, the centre of a planetary system. It is the tendency of the centre of a planetary system, to draw each individual member of the system toward itself, and so ultimately to absorb it. Such is Vairocana's action in the Diamond World, the world of ideas.

equally with Vairocana, bearing the title of Bhagavat. He is identified with the supreme Intelligence (Pradhâna) or **Great Man** (Mahâpurusha, Cf. Swedenborg's Magnus Homo); and union with him is recommended as an object to be striven after.

In the "womb element," or world of existing phenomena, the material counterpart of the immaterial ideas, Vairocana, the source of organic life, is the heart of an eight-leaved lotus.



As in the contemplative world he was the centre of ideas, so, in the phenomenal world, he is the centre of phenomenal existence; and the first things emanating from him are the actual Buddhas, those who actually became incarnate and assumed a visible tangible shape.

Round this eight-leaved lotus flower, like the leaves of the calix, groups itself, in a definite arrangement, all phenomenal existence.

The Shingon believer is therefore taught to look upon Vairocana as at once the centre and source of all life, phenomenal and noumenal. From him, as from a bud, all things visible proceed; in him, as in a mighty sun, all things visible and invisible have their consummation and absorption.

To reach the realization, moral and intellectual, of this great Truth, that Vairocana is omnipresent, and that everything exists only in him, we must apparently ascend by a double ladder, each half of which has ten steps.

I.—*The intellectual ladder.*

1. *Ishōtei gōshin* “different birth ram sheep thought” —i.e. the thought which characterizes the lowest grades of life, which, like the ram and sheep, are only guided by appetite and lust.
2. *Gudōji sai shin*, “the obstinate thought of ignorance.” The first step of teaching is to impart a fact to the pupil which he is to grasp firmly even though he cannot understand it.
3. *Edō muishin*—“the fearless thought of innocence.” He that keeps the commandments which he has received in a former stage, now advances with fearless step along the path of wisdom.
4. *Yui-un-mu-ga-shin*—“the concentrated thought of self devotion.” Forgetful of self, withdrawing his attention from all side issues, he now concentrates his whole attention on the object to be attained.
5. *Batsu-gō in-shu-shin*.—“The thought which extracts the seed of action.” By the concentrated thought of the former stage, he learns to see the chain of causation, and to distinguish between thoughts which are fruitful of good works, and those which are not.
6. *Ta-en-dai-jō-shin*.—“The thought of others.” He now sees that the chain of causation brings him into connexion with all other beings, and that he that would save himself must also strive to save all beings. This is essentially the characteristic of the Buddhist who has reached to the Mahāyāna stage.
7. *Akushin jushōshin*.—“The thought which understands thought without production,” i.e.,

“ abstract meditation,” which can only be reached from the standpoint of 6, and which infallibly leads to,

8. *Ichidō mu i shin*.—“The thought which travels along one path without doing”—that peculiar thought which is the product of a developed faith.
9. *Gokumujī shō shin*.—“The power of thinking without any admixture of self.”
10. *Himitsu shōgon shin*.—“The secret thought which cannot be described,” and is the peculiar characteristic of the perfected Tathagata.

Corresponding to the ten steps of the intellectual ladder are the ten steps of the moral law—the decalogue. I have already given them elsewhere, (p. 367) so do not repeat them now. I will only say that whilst the first three refer to the body, and the middle ones to the mouth, which is the intermediary between body and will, the last group have connection with the will which is the centre of a man's life, and the arbiter of his destiny. Indeed if a man can carry out the tenth commandment, he has carried out all the rest; “purity of intention” is love, “which is the fulfilment of the law.”

But, as in morals the believer goes on to the practice of a sixfold range of transcendental virtues (see above p. 370), so in intellectual matters, he is taken on to consider the six elements which constitute the universe, and which are to the physical world what the transcendental virtues are to the moral.

They are

1. *Earth*.
2. *Water*.
3. *Fire*.
4. *Air*.
5. *Ether*.
6. *Wisdom*.

To these in the "Ideal World" we have corresponding "ideas."

1. To *earth*—the wisdom by which we see things as in a mirror.
2. To *water*—the wisdom which sifts and distinguishes.
3. To *fire*—the wisdom which equalizes all things.
4. To *air*—the wisdom which makes our actions universal.
5. To *ether*—the wisdom whereby we identify ourselves with what we are.
6. To *wisdom*—the Universal Mind.

Thus, by a two-fold gradation, intellectual and moral, we are brought to the same point—to *Vairocana* "from whom are all things, and to whom are all things."

In modern times the Shingon sect has not been as popular as it was in earliest days. Like the Tendai, it has had to suffer a great deal from the rivalry of the more modern and simpler bodies. Still it has by no means exhausted its vitality, and of late years one of its priests, Mr. S. Unsho, has done very much good in promoting the morality of his fellow countrymen. I give a summary of some of his work extracted from his magazine. He says: the commandments of the Bosatsu amount to a desire and vow to practice the whole of morality, after gaining a clear knowledge of its fundamental truths. This whole body of morality consists of two parts, (i) the acquisition of perfect perception for oneself, (ii) the bringing others to this perfect perception. Perfect perception shows us the connection between morality on the one hand, and the truth of the Universe on the other. When a man arrives at this perfect perception he is a living Buddha:—*i.e.* the truth has made him free from worldly affections, and he has passed into *Nehan*—the place beyond. To attain to this is the highest limit of intellectual education.

When a man has himself attained to this highest limit, it is both his duty and pleasure to teach to others the path by which he himself has mounted to his high enlightenment. This path is described by the terms Rokudō. and Shishō, otherwise termed—the six transcendental virtues (Paramitas) and the four right conducts.

These Six *Do* or Paramitas are described as.

1. *Dan*, "Charity."—A virtue not merely confined to almsgiving, but one which has for its object the blessing of all human creatures, in accordance with the charitable principles of the three and the eight blessings. The three blessings are :
 1. Reverence for religion. 2. Filial piety. 3. Compassion for the poor. The Japanese word for master of a house is derived from this Paramita, it being the especial virtue of the *danna* (as the Shingon believer is also called), to dispense charity and hospitality.

The 8 blessings are described in two ways.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 1. To dig wells. | 1. Buddha. | } These bear
a strong re-
semblance to
the works
of corporal
and spiritual
mercy found
in many
Christian
manuals of
devotion. |
| 2. To build bridges. | 2. The Law. | |
| 3. To make roads. | 3. The priest-
hood. | |
| 4. To support one's
parents. | 4. Father. | |
| 5. To support the
Church | 5. Mother. | |
| 6. To nurse the sick. | 6. Teacher. | |
| 7. To help the poor. | 7. The poor. | |
| 8. To promote charity. | 8. The sick. | |

2. *Kai*.—"Morality." Many moral precepts may be found scattered throughout the various Sutras of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles, but they can all be summarized in the well-known Decalogue of the *Jūzen*. It is therefore stated both in the *Kepon* and the *Dainichi Sutras* that this paramita

corresponds with the Decalogue. Further analysis will however show that the Ten Commandments really rest on three principles of evil which are to be avoided, covetousness, anger, and folly; and that the avoidance of these three sins again rests upon the acknowledgement of the 'one heart' which is really the 'heart of Buddha.' Morality therefore is based upon the holding fast of this one abiding principle. In Christian phraseology, morality depends on the perception of God. But how is that perception to be attained? The path is made clear as we advance in the practice of the other transcendent virtues.

3. *Nin*, "patience"—not only as against the obstacles to which all religious life is exposed;—but patience in the pursuit of the truth which is to set us free. Patience may be produced in a man by the practise of self-imposed austerities, but it must always be remembered that the end sought after is more valuable than the means used in its attainment.
4. To our patience we must add "energy" (*ju*, or *shojin*) though energy is not quite a good word to express this virtue. It is really that virtue by which, clearly setting before ourselves the object in view, we work out our own salvation. It includes abstinence from animal food, fasting, the observance of days and seasons, all those religious practices and means which want some energy to keep up. When St. Paul urges his readers not to neglect the assembling of themselves together as the manner of some is, he is in reality advocating this virtue.
5. *Ten* "Meditation." It is not by what we hear, but by what we mentally and spiritually digest that we make progress intellectual or moral.

6. And lastly *Wisdom*. But it must be remembered that *Hannya* (skt. *prajñā*) is not earthly wisdom, the result of study and experience, but a transcendental wisdom, proceeding from a true intuition, and obtained by a proper course of meditation based on the preceding Paramitas which have already been attained to.

When this highest paramita has been reached the soul may be considered as having attained to perfect freedom which consists in perfect knowledge.

But for the perfecting of *Hannya*, three things are necessary. These are described by Mr. Unsho as

a. *Shinryōshi* or "the investigating mind."

b. *Ketsujōshi*, or "the decided mind."

c. *Tōhatsushōshi*, or the confessed mind.

(a) The investigating, or enquiring mind, works itself back to the law of cause and effect, and remembers that, "though the sun should grow cold and the moon hot," the everlasting law of retribution cannot fail, but that every infraction of the moral law must be followed by a corresponding penalty. Ignorance of the law cannot shield a man from its consequences. A man stands by a pool of water without knowing it: yet his ignorance does not save him from getting his clothes wet.

And even supposing ignorance to entail upon us no positive punishment, it always and necessarily increases our difficulties. Life is like a dark room through which we must grope our way. The wise man is like one who has been there before, and can steer his course safely without colliding with the furniture. The ignorant man, on the other hand, is like one to whom the dark room is unknown, who must carefully feel and grope, and counts himself fortunate if he escape without a crash of some sort.

The spirit of enquiry, therefore, and investigation is necessary in order that a man may know his moral and religious position. It is that requisite which in Christian theology is the first preliminary for baptism. Before entering upon the path of life, the Christian must examine himself whether he repents himself truly of his past sins. He must also set himself down and count the cost of his new undertaking.

(b) But there must also be the decided mind, which always pre-supposes a moment of decision. When that moment of decision arrives, the believer goes to the priest, and, before him, makes the promise of obedience, and receives the law.

(c) This is followed by the confessed mind, which is more properly treated of in the following section, as it is in reality the fulfilment of the commandments.

Before proceeding to the consideration of this it is well for us to stop and consider an extremely interesting point. Mr. Unsho laments that the ceremony of baptism has fallen into desuetude. At the present time, in the older sects at least, there is a distinct ceremony of initiation, and this was formerly accompanied by *Kwanjō* (Sansk. *abhisheka*) which consisted in baptism by affusion, water being poured over the head of the candidate. In view of the possible Gnostic origin of Great Vehicle Buddhism it is very important to keep this initiation ceremony before us. In the older sects, this initiation ceremony always includes a delivery of the law to the postulant, and a vow or promise made by him to observe the moral and religious commandments of the Law in which he professes his belief. The Pure Land Sects ask for no such vow. With them, and especially with the Monto sect, belief in Amida takes the place of works for salvation, and the law is kept not as a means for obtaining salvation, but out of gratitude for a salvation already obtained. It is, however, the teaching of the *Bosatsu-kai-kyō* that all

public officers should receive this Kwanjō at their entry upon office, it being essential for the welfare of the state, that it should have the blessing and recognition of the Church.

The grace said to be derived from this act of decision and public confession is compared with a seed. It cannot develop into perfection unless it be continually nurtured and fed. The public profession of faith therefore must be followed by a holy life.

Now the best means for leading a holy life is continually to keep the "end of our profession" before us. In the lower or Hīnayāna Buddhism the end is individual salvation. The believer is taught that by a certain course of action, by self-restraint, meditation, and good works, he can succeed in annihilating passion, and pass into the Absolute Unconditioned Mind in which the individual soul is for ever lost.

But this aim is after all a lower, because a selfish, aim. The soul, when lost in Nirvana, ceases to be a benefit to others, and the salvation of one soul does not bring any others in its train.

The Mahāyāna Buddhism however is much higher. Its aim is nobler, because altruistic. It teaches the soul to strive, not after an extinction of self, so much as perfect enlightenment, which, when attained, gives it the "infinite perception" of a "beatific vision"; and at the same time enables it to stretch forth a helping hand to all those that are connected with it by any of the various relationships of life. Here therefore comes the special work of those who in this life have reached to the perfect enlightenment. They form a band of great intercessors, pleading continually for their ignorant struggling brethren, that they also may attain to the same heights of perfect enlightenment and bliss.

The Shingon sect is not however contented with teaching morality. It seeks to enforce its morality by a

system of worship. I have before me what I may term a Treasury of Devotion, giving directions for the daily worship of the man who is striving after wisdom. It is evidently based on the manual used by the corresponding Chinese sect, as given in Beale's *Catena of Buddhist Scripture*, but has been modified to suit local circumstances.

Immediately after waking, and whilst folding up the *futons* (quilts used for sleeping purposes), the devotee is taught to recite a four-lined metrical prayer expressing the hope that as his quilts are being folded up and placed in their proper receptacle, so all his relations in life may be aroused from the slumber of delusion and eventually stored in their proper receptacle. A similar prayer is to be recited whilst washing the face and hands for the purification of all the relationships included in the *shi on*¹⁷

The worshipper then comes into the presence of the Buddha (perhaps we should say 'the Buddhas'), *i.e.* he kneels before the domestic shrine or shelf, and there makes an Act of Thanksgiving for the mercies obtained for him by the Buddhas of all the Quarters, together with a prayer for grace (if I may use the term) to follow them in all virtuous living.

He then makes a confession of sins,—and not only the sins committed in this life, but those innumerable unknown sins of previous existences that have kept him entangled in the cycle of life and death. Having confessed his sins, he recites his Creed—; inextricably entangled in the results of his own Karma, he flees, that is, for salvation to the Three Refuges—the Buddhas, the Law, and the Community. (It is noticeable that the word here

¹⁷ The *shōn* or four favours, represent the duty we owe to those with whom we are brought into contact or connection.

1. All sentient beings.
2. Our parents.
3. Sovereign.
4. Buddhas, the Law, and the Community.

used in the commentary for Buddhas, is not *butsu* which may be singular, but *hotoke* which, I believe, is almost always plural). Having thus given expression to his faith he repeats the Ten Commandments given above, and makes an Act of Obedience to them.

Then follows the repetition of three or four mantras—*shingon*—from the use of which this sect gets its title. These mantras are called respectively Bodaishin Shingon, Sammayakai Shingon, Kōmyō Shingon.

After these a verse in honour of Kōbō Daishi, not only as being the Japanese founder of the sect, but as being one of the manifestations of Dainichi Vairocana,—the Personified Symbol of Heavenly Wisdom. Then follows the recitation of the Hymnary of the Decalogue, and the Ekōmon.

The worship then closes with an Act of Reverence towards the gods of the country, and a Memorial of Parents.

We next come to the worship to be offered up at mealtimes. Coming into the dining hall or refectory, the worshipper, whilst preparing the meal, and arranging the tables, is directed to repeat certain formularies. When the preparations are completed, he is to offer three spoonfuls as a sacrifice, one in honour of all the Buddhas, one in honour of all the saints, one in honour of all sentient beings within the six spheres of existence. He is then before eating, and with his heart directed to the dangers and temptations to which the soul of man is exposed from want of self-restraint in matters of food and drink, to meditate on his own failings, and to practise self-examination. A great deal is made of this, the commentary upon it extending over several closely printed pages. Then, taking the bowl in his hand, he is to eat in silence, concluding with an Act of Thanksgiving which is to be repeated when he is cleansing the vessels that he has used for his meal.

The day's work is then sanctified by a short ejaculatory prayer.

The other meals of the day are to be accompanied by the same devotions as the morning meal.

After supper (somewhere about sunset) the worshipper again approaches the Presence of the Buddhas, and prays as in the morning. A short form of compline is added in the form of two short prayers to be used at bed-time.

The rest of the manual is made up of prayers and collects to be used on the most various occasions. Almost all the events that occur in the ordinary life of plain citizens seem to be provided for.

The worship prescribed to the priests in the Temples is a great deal more elaborate than this. I have not however attempted to give any account of it. It is an extremely difficult subject, and involves an amount of technical knowledge of Chinese terms and symbols which would make it a very uninteresting subject to an ordinary reader. It would also take up more time and space than my present limits will allow me. But, after all, it is a subject which has very little to do with the daily life of an ordinary Buddhist layman. The connection between the ordinary Buddhist layman and his Temple is of the slightest. He visits it on certain family occasions, chiefly the anniversaries of the deaths of near relatives : he has an opportunity, if he wishes to avail himself of it, of hearing sermons. Sermons are delivered, in some temples every day, in others every ten days, in others twice, in others once a month, in others at still wider intervals. The layman subscribes money to the support of the temple, and has some voice in the appointment of the incumbent : a paper on his door indicates the sect to which he belongs, and is a guide to the begging friars who perambulate the streets. When he dies, his remains will be taken to the Temple, and the priests will give

him a new name to be inscribed upon his tombstone. In all other respects, the two classes are quite apart, and go each their own way.

In reading this account of the Shingon sect we shall see many points of resemblance to other religious systems.

In the repeated incarnations of Vairocana, as Sakya-muni, Vajrasatta, Kōbō Daishi, and others, we shall find resemblances to the avatars of Vishnu in Hindoo mythology, and to the Lamaism of Thibet.

In the doctrine of the Diamond Element and Womb Element we see analogies to Plato, and—strangely enough—to Swedenborg !

But the most striking resemblances of all are those which exist between the system successfully established by Kōbō Daishi in Japan, and that which strove in vain to captivate the Western mind—the Gnosticism of Early Christian days. It is no chance similarity, but one so minute in many ways as to leave no doubt that the two systems are identical, or, at least, sprung from one and the same source. The student of Christian theology may see a living Gnosticism, at its worst as well as at its best, in the Shingon sects of Japan.

On his deathbed Kōbō Daishi left to his followers a testamentary which is interesting as summing up his religious position. I give a translation of it which will I think form a fitting conclusion to this chapter :

KŌBŌ DAISHI'S COMMANDMENT.

I speak to all my disciples. A man who becomes a priest and learns the way, must have a desire to attain to Buddhahip, and not to search for a Wheelking, Śāka, or Brahma, even though these are the lesser rewards of man.

If a man purpose to go a long journey he cannot do so except by his feet : even so, if a man wish to know the ways of the Buddha, he cannot do so but by keeping his commandments.

Strictly preserving the two-fold doctrine, the apparent and the hidden, he must not commit the sin of cleaving (to life).

The Commandments of the aforesaid apparent doctrine are the Three Refuges, the Eight Precepts, the Five Precepts and the Commandments of the Shōmon and Bōsatsu. Each of the four classes has its own special commandment.

The Commandments of the hidden doctrine are the so-called Rules of Sammaya (Skt. Samādhi—"meditation"), which are also called the Rules for attaining to Enlightenment.

All these rules have the Ten Commandments for their basis. What are called the Jūzen, are three commandments concerning the body, four concerning the mouth, and three concerning the heart. If you reverse the order and from the end return to the beginning, you will find that the elemental principle is the One Heart. The nature of the One Heart does not differ from that of Buddha. There is no difference between my heart, the heart of all sentient beings, and the heart of Buddha. If you abide in this heart, it is to learn the faith of Buddha ; being carried in this vehicle, you may enter the place of teaching.

Knowing these commandments, keep them as a treasure : even at the risk of life you must not break them.

If therefore you break them you are not the disciple of Buddha : you are neither Kongōshi, nor Rengeshi, nor Bōsatsushi nor Shamonshi. Such a man is not my disciple either : nor am I his teacher. He does not differ from a piece of mud or a broken tree.

The relations between teacher and disciple are closer than those between parent and child. Though parent and

child are connected by ties of bodily relationship, yet their love belongs to one life only, and is terminated by death; disciple and teacher are bound by a law of spiritual affinity, and their love leads away from the miseries of this world and gives happiness. What comparison, therefore, is there between the two ?

This is the reason why I teach you with kindness.

If a man follow my commandments he obeys the teachings of the Buddhas of the three worlds. This teaching is not mine : it is the teaching of all the Buddhas.

Therefore, all priests of both ranks, all laymen, adult and juvenile, practise these commandments : observe the contemplation of Buddha ; pass beyond the three hindrances ; make proof of the three perceptions ; perfect the two rules of conduct ; base your conduct on the four favours. Will ye not then become Bodhisattvas and Hinin (angels) ?

If you depart from my teaching, you depart from the teaching of all the Buddhas. This is called *Is-sen-dai*,—this is to be an unbeliever (“one outcast”). It is to be sunk forever in the sea of pain, without possibility of escape.

I shall not speak with you again : go away, remain not here ; go away, remain not here.

VII.

I have said in a former chapter that the immense extent of the Mahâyâna Canon Buddhist Scriptures necessarily tended to promote eclecticism. It being impossible to make a study of the whole, it evidently followed that each priest was at liberty to take that part of the system (if such a heterogeneous mass can be systematic) which was not in accordance with his own spiritual conditions. We have already seen that the Tendai and Shingon sects, described in the two preceding chapters, are eclectic, and base themselves, the one

mainly on the scripture known as the Saddharma pundarika, the other almost exclusively on that set of Buddhist writings which describe the action of the Great Buddha Vairochana, or Dainichi.

We now come in the course of history to another development of eclecticism; the system of Jōdo, or the pure Land. There is a set of three books upon which this system is entirely based.

In the shorter Amitāyus-Sūtra¹⁸ (or as it is sometimes called, the Lesser Sukhāvati Vyūha), Sakyamuni gives a description of the various great Buddhas of the Ten Regions, but dwells especially upon the merits of one particular Buddha, the Buddha of the West—whose Paradise is open to all those who desire to be born in it. This is the book known as the Amidakyō in Japan.

In the larger Sukhāvati Vyūha (Muryōjukyō),¹⁹ we have “a history of the Tathāgata Amitābha from the first spiritual impulses which led him to the attainment of Buddhahood in remote Kalpas down to the present time when he dwells in the western world called Sukhavati (Gokuraku: or ‘happy’), when he receives all beings from every direction, helping them to turn away from confusion, and to become enlightened.” (Nanjo).

In the third or Amitāyus dhyāna Sūtra, (Kwan-muryō-ju-Kyō)²⁰ we have an account of how Sakyamuni instructed Vaidehī, wife of King Bimbisara of Magadha, as to the right way to be born in the Pure Land ruled over by the Tathagata Amida.

It is on these three scriptures that is based the Jōdo sect which I purpose to discuss in the present chapter, and also its daughter, the *Shinshū* sect, which will come up for description in the next.

¹⁸ No. 200 in Nanjo's Catalogue. ¹⁹ No. 27 in the Catalogue.

²⁰ No 198.

To begin with:—Who is Amida, the Being thus described in these important Sutras ?

In “a Catechism of Shinshū Buddhism,” published at Madras by the Theosophical Society, Amitābha is described as having made his vows to save mankind innumerable Kalpas ago, when he was yet a monk, Dharmākara by name, in the time of the Buddha Lokeshvarāja (“King Lord of the World.”) But Amitabha was not an ordinary man, for though at the time of making his vows he was an ordinary mendicant monk of some pre-buddhistic order, yet he was originally “a Buddha without beginning”; that is, being “the truth itself—the body of abstract existence, all other Buddhas have attained to the perfect knowledge only after worshipping him, and he is, therefore, called the original matter of all Buddhas. Still more it is said even that all Buddhas are the transformed bodies of Amitābha.” Thus, the Tendai sect goes back to a quasi divine being; the Shingon goes back to another; and now the Jōdo sect goes back to a third. There can be but one source of all the Buddhas, yet Amida, Vairocana, and the Buddha of Original Enlightenment are not identical, but are three.

In order to prepare the means of salvation for mankind, whom he knew to be absolutely incapable of procuring this salvation for themselves, he became a mendicant and, by a course of holy lives, raised himself to a state of Buddhahood. Having reached this stage he paused, and before accepting the prize which he had merited, made a series of vows by which he bound himself not to enter into Nirvana until certain great objects had been accomplished. The essence of these vows was as follows:—that by his power he should create a pure Land all his own,—the Western Paradise,—over which he should rule with immeasurable light; that his name should be exalted as the Buddha of Endless Life and Light over

all the other Buddhas and be glorified by them; that whosoever, in this world should rely on him with true faith, should at his death be reborn in this Paradise, from whence he should without fail attain to the blessed condition of Nirvana.

Such is the splendid conception sketched for us in the Sutras now mentioned. The patriarchs of the Mahâyâna in India, Asvagoshâ, Nâgârjuna, and Vasubandhu, are credited with having been the first to teach the doctrines contained in them; and their successors in China are given as E-on (416 A.D.), Don-rau (A.D. 542), Dōshaku (600-650) and Tendo (600-650): from whom, five centuries later, it came to Japan.

One of these Chinese patriarchs, Dōshaku, in his book called *An-raku-shū*, divides Sakyamuni's teachings as follows. Its two principal divisions are Hīnayâna (Shōjō) and Mahâyâna (Daijō).

"The Hīnayâna is the doctrine by which the immediate disciples of Buddha, and those of the period of five hundred years after Buddha practised the three Sikshas (Sangaku) or trainings of Adhivāla (Kai) or "higher morality," Adhicitta (Jō) or "higher thought," and Adhiprajñā (E), or "higher learning," and obtained in their present life the four holy fruits of Srota-âpanna, Sakrid-âgāmin, Anâgāmin and Arhat." (Nanjo.)

But the Shōjōkyō or Hīnayâna is a doctrine only intended for believers of lower qualifications, and, in consequence, the standard of teachings is low. For believers of a more advanced type, and consequently, for the whole Buddhist Church in the period of her greatest development, the Mahâyâna doctrines are more especially intended. Here also there are the three trainings of "higher thought," "higher morality" and "higher learning," but they are of a more advanced type, and the lower teachings are the stepping stones to the higher. If we come to particularize differences between

the two systems (I am now quoting from a popular Japanese Catechism), we have, first, the distinction between a negative and positive Nirvāna. The Hinayāna teaches man to extinguish all desires, and abandon all wicked conduct, to free himself from all the pains of this illusory world, and thus to plunge into a Nirvāna of total extinction. In the Mahāyāna, on the contrary, Nirvāna may be more properly described as Jōbutsu ("becoming a Buddha") and is "a positive result, everlastingly safe, free, and pure." A second difference is found in the relative wideness of scope. In the Lesser Vehicle, the believer is taught only to work out his own salvation; in the Greater Vehicle, he works also for that of others. And a third most important difference lies in the teaching and non-teaching of Shinnyo (Skt. Bhūtatathāta). In the one, only the laws of the phenomenal world are explained, for the doctrine is intended for those who are not yet developed in their spiritual condition. The Mahāyāna, on the contrary, explains the substance and real nature of the Universe, for it is intended for developed intellects. It teaches therefore that at the heart of the Universe is Shinnyo, of which the Universe is only a manifestation; and that this Shinnyo is the "True and Immutable," "a self-existing absolute being which permeates through all existence, and is the substance, the noumenon of it." It is "free from the relations of time and space, and has an active quality of setting forth the phenomena of the universe."

In the same way as the philosophic speculations of the Mahāyāna are higher than those of the Hinayāna, so is it with the moral practices. The believer is taught to look higher and to practise a higher morality as he advances in spirituality.

This is called the Holy Path, by which men through their own exertions enter into Buddhahood by following the Holy Path set before them. It is the doctrine of

jiriki, "self-exertion," and was the special characteristic of the first fifteen centuries after the death of Buddha, when the Buddhist Law was in its greatest vigour, and men from time to time arose to accomplish the great aim of perfection that they aimed at.

But (and this tacit confession of failure on the part of the Buddhists deserves to be noticed) those fifteen centuries of splendour should be succeeded by five centuries (or more) of degradation, known as the Latter Days of the Law (*Mappō*), a period "when iniquity should abound and the love of many should wax cold." During this period, the gate of self-exertion which stands at the end of the Holy Path should be closed, but the "gate opened by the exertion of another (*tariki mon*)" should be opened wide, and men should be saved by the faith in Amida.

The Jōdo sect was introduced into Japan by a priest named Genkū. Born 1153 A.D. he was induced to enter the priesthood by his father's dying word, at the age of nine, and five years afterwards became a priest of the Tendai sect, and went to Hiyeizan to study. It was a time not calculated to encourage a novice at such a place. The Taira family were at the head of affairs; and a quick succession of abdicating Emperors, shows how troubled were those times for the heads of the State. The proximity of Hiyeizan to Kyoto, and the well-known political tendencies of its ambitious abbots and monks would make it a very uncongenial abode for a studious recluse, while the intimate acquaintance with the political disturbances would serve to emphasize the belief in the arrival of the Latter Days of the Law. We are not therefore surprised to find that he retired in his eighteenth year to the neighbouring valley of Kurodani, where he lived in a small hut and devoted himself to study with a view to finding out a way of helping the poor and ignorant. We can well understand how miserable must have been

the spiritual condition of the poor during this rule of turbulent nobles, ambitious monks, and weak sovereigns, and how the heart of a compassionate man must have yearned over the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen. During his retirement at Kurodani, which lasted for twenty-five years, he is said to have read through the whole of the Canon, and in the course of his studies, whilst reading the Kwan-Muryōjukyō, with the aid of of Zendo's commentary, he grasped the meaning of the Sutra, and perceiving that faith in Amida was the true refuge for men in the degenerate, later days on which his lot had fallen, he commenced to teach in accordance with the doctrines which I have already explained, summing up his religious practices by the frequent repetition of *Namo amida butsu* (Skt. *Namo Amitābhaya Buddhāya*) Glory to Amida the Buddha.

Genkū received the posthumous name of Honen Shōnin, and his teachings were received with great favour in high quarters. Three Emperors, Takakura, Go Shirakawa, and Go Toba became his pupils. When they fell from their high state and were forced to abdicate, we can well understand that they would find a great deal of comfort in the belief in the merciful interpositions of Amida. The sect continued to receive a large share of exalted patronage until quite recent times. A large number of the Tokugawa Shōguns lie buried in the Jōdo temple of Zōjōji at Shiba, and the Imperial House gave the sect many tokens of esteem. The biography of the Founder was compiled by Imperial Order, and subsequent Emperors ordered fresh editions of the life to be published.

We may now summarize in a few words the leading characteristics of the Jōdo system. It is salvation by faith, but it is a faith ritualistically expressed. The virtue that saves comes not from the imitation of and conformity to the person and character of the Saviour Amida, but from the blind trust in his efforts, and

the ceaseless repetition of pious formulæ. It does not therefore necessitate any conversion or change of heart. It is really a religion of despair rather than of hope. It says to the believer : the world is so very evil that you cannot possibly reach to Buddhahood here. Your best plan therefore is to give up all such hope, and simply set your mind upon being born in Amida's Paradise after death ; and if you once get entrance into that land your ultimate salvation is secure.

It is very remarkable how little of history Buddhism has. The history of the Buddhist communities is generally wonderfully uneventful. It is only here and there, when some great person comes into temporary prominence that the smooth surface of the stream seems to be disturbed. And even when such a person appears, he comes and goes without fuss or disturbance. He becomes a priest in one of the existing sects, and presently finds that he is thoroughly out of sympathy with the teaching of his sect. But he does not attempt to reform it. He quietly retires to some other place, erects a small cottage, and commences a sect by himself. There is very little bad feeling about it ; and in course of time the new sect takes its place along with the others as one of the recognized forms of the Buddhist faith, and as it grows splits itself into three, four, or even ten subsidiary sects, the differences between which are often merely local.

VIII.

Before coming to the Shinshū sect, we should, if we adhered strictly to the chronological order, first describe the Zen sects. But the Jōdo and Shinshū are so nearly related to one another that it seems better to treat them together.

One of the favourite pupils of Honen Shōnin was Shinran (born A.D. 1173, died A.D. 1262), a man of very good family, and belonging to the Fujiwara clan. Whilst

still young he was placed as a novice in the Tendai monastery at Hiyeizan, where he remained until he was twenty-nine years of age, when he became a pupil of Hōnen Shōnin, then in the height of his influence, and joined the Jōdo priesthood. Hōnen died A.D. 1212, and the subsequent policy of the sect did not commend itself to Shinran's mind as a true development of his teachings. There arose much discussion and dissension about this, which eventuated in Shinran's being banished from Kyōto to the distant province of Hitachi, where, about the year 1224, he established his sect of *Jōdo Shinshū*, "True Sect of Jōdo."

The Shinshū teachings, like those of the Jōdo, were originally intended for people of a lower class of intelligence; and indeed the ignorance of a great proportion of the laity of this sect has given rise to a Japanese proverb (*montō mono wo shiradzu*) "the Mongō believers know nothing."

If faith in Amida and his vow is the sole necessary for that present salvation which is to land the believer in Paradise at his death, it is clear that to trouble the mind of a believer with the metaphysical subtleties and high speculations which form so important a part in the teachings of other sects, such as, for instance, the Tendai and Shingon, is a very needless work. Once in Paradise, and the whole of the speculative and metaphysical system of the Truth will come spontaneously to the mind without any teaching at all. The Shinshū therefore, at any rate, in its earlier and more popular presentments, divests itself of all metaphysics. It knows nothing of a philosophy of religion: faith in Amida is the all in all.

In the same way, the older sects had insisted upon as necessary, and the Jōdo had retained as advisable and useful, the performance of many acts of religion and devotion. This was compared by one of the great Buddhist doctors (Nāgārjūna, I think,) to a hard journey over mountainous country, perilous and laborious. When the traveller instead of taking that perilous land journey, goes to his

destination by sea, he sits still and is wafted along in his boat by wind and wave. Such is the faith of Amida as preached by the Shinshū: it is *i-gyō-do* ("the way of easy acts").

Again, in the older sects, as we have seen, morality depends on the keeping of many commandments carefully graded according to the capacity of the devotee. In the Shinshū, the "thankful remembrance of the mercies of Amida" sums up the law. He that keeps that mercy ever before him will without fail keep all the commandments. It is a case of love being the fulfilling of the law.

Hence, Rennyo Shōnin, one of the principal priests of this sect, composed the following Creed:

"Rejecting all religious austerities and all other action, giving up all idea of self-power, we rely upon Amida Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing; believing that at the moment of putting our faith in Amida Buddha, our salvation is settled. From that moment, invocation of his name is observed as an expression of gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy. Moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests whose teachings were so benevolent, and as welcome as light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life."

Again, in the older sect, whilst Amida was made the only hope of man's salvation, supplication to the other Buddhas was not forbidden, and consequently, in the temples of the Jōdo sect, Amida is sometimes found in juxtaposition with other objects of worship, and especially those Buddhas whose favours are of a temporary nature, such as Kwannon and others. But Shinran forbade all worship to any but Amida, and would not allow

his followers to ask for any blessings of a temporary nature. Prayer to Amida should be confined to those objects which concern man's ultimate salvation.

And man's ultimate salvation, when is it attained? The Jōdo sect teaches that if we call the mercy of Amida to remembrance, then Amida will meet us at the hour of death and conduct us to his Paradise. The Shinshū believer is taught that the coming of Amida is present and immediate, that he receives, whilst in this life even, the assurance of his salvation, that in other words, Buddha dwells in his heart now by faith.

If then faith is the sole means of salvation, it follows that there is no need for the candidate for salvation to become a priest, leave his home, renounce matrimony and live by rule. The layman's and even the laywoman's, chance of salvation is quite as good as the priests. The object therefore for which the priesthood exists is changed. It is no longer as it was in Shaka's conception, a body of men striving after perfection, but a body of men living to teach others, the corporate depository of the Faith and Worship of the Church. The Shinshū sect, therefore, allows its priests to marry, to dress like laymen, and even, when necessary, to eat meat. It is true that in other sects priests occasionally married. I have found married priests belonging to almost every sect. But with the other sects it is the exception, the Church law is defied because the civil prohibition against priestly marriage has been withdrawn. In the Shinshū sect it is encouraged in every way; the family is considered the best sphere in which to lead the religious family life, and the incumbency not only of the ordinary temples, but even of the bishoprics and primacies is hereditary in certain families.

The *Shinshū* or *Minto* sect (as it is sometimes called) is divided into two main divisions, both of which trace their history back to the life-time of Shinran. When the Saint was in banishment in the northern provinces,

he founded a temple at Takata in Shimetsuke, which became in time the headquarters of the Takata subdivision, a branch whose chief temple now stands at Isshinden near Tan. Some years later he founded another monastery at Kibe in Ōmi, which became the present temple of the Kinshokuji subdivision. Both these branches are now insignificant as compared with the two other great branches which originated soon after. Eleven years after the death of Shinran (I am quoting from the second edition of Murray's Handbook) his youngest daughter and one of his grandsons erected a monastery near to his tomb at Ōtani in the Eastern suburbs of Kyōto, to which the Mikado gave the title of Hongwanji. "Monastery of the Original Vow," in allusion to the well-known vow of Amida which forms the basis of the sect's teaching. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Abbot of Hongwanji built a great gateway to the temple, which excited the envy of the monks of Hieizan, who attacked the place and burnt it to the ground. The Abbot fled to Echizen, where he was joined by a powerful body of adherents, and by their aid made himself master of the whole province of Kaga, which remained in the possession of his successors for nearly a century. In 1477 he re-established the Hongwanji at Yamashina near Kyōto, and in 1493 founded a monastery under the same name at Ōsaka which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, became the headquarters of the sect. Here Nobunaga unsuccessfully besieged Kenryo, the 11th Abbot, in 1570, with an army of 58,000 men. For ten years hostilities were carried on between him and the adherents of the sect with varying success, ending in the abbot consenting to capitulate. But three days before the date on which it was agreed that the fortress should be handed over, he set the buildings on fire and decamped during the night. In 1591 Hideyoshi ordered the sect to transfer its headquarters to Kyōto, whence it had been driven 127 years before, and forced Kyōryo to

resign the headship in favour of his younger brother, but in 1602 Iyeyasu allowed him to found another monastery in Kyôto to which the name of Higashi (Eastern) Hongwanji was given, while the original foundation was called Nishi (Western) Hongwanji, or simply Hongwanji.

It will be seen from the above account that the character of the Buddhist priesthood had changed. When it first came into the land, it came as a softening influence in the midst of the surrounding barbarism, and it has even been charged by Murray²¹ and other writers with enervating and corrupting the manliness of the Japanese race. The calm of the monastery was an agreeable relaxation after the troubles of the throne, and many a sovereign who would have done better in his proper sphere, was tempted to forsake his duties, in order to obtain the rest of a religious life. But these aristocratic monks did not bring with them the true monastic spirit; the world was still in their hearts; they were out of the world and yet in it, until gradually the spirit of the world prevailed, and as in the monastic institutions of mediæval Europe, the clang of arms was heard in the cell, refectory and chapel.

We therefore find now that most of the succeeding sects are manly and vigorous. It is true that the Zen sect emphasises the Quietistic tendencies of Buddhism. But the Zen sects are chronologically anterior to this time. They date from the period when Buddhism was still in its gentle and contemplative moods. With the rise of Shinshû and of its contemporary rival the Nichiren sect, we come to the era of combativeness. The spirit of the World has entered into the Community of monks: the varied offspring born from the fertile womb of Buddhism have come to maturity, and will be heard in the history of the country striving with one another for mastery.

²¹ History of the Nations, Japan, p. 127.

In modern days the Shinshū sect has been the most progressive of all Buddhist sects, and has freely sent forth its promising priests to study in Europe and America. It is consequently more in touch than any of its compeers with modern scientific research. Its peculiar tenet gives it a great advantage in this respect; for we have seen that if faith in Amida is the one and only thing necessary, it is clearly superfluous to trouble oneself with philosophical theories and metaphysical speculations, such as those to which the other sects are committed. It can therefore freely and readily accept any scientific theories about the origin and constitution of the world. Having already thrown aside its encumbrances, it is in a position to accept a new burden of theories, or, if need be, to leave them alone.

At the same time it is able to use far more popular methods of propagandism. Of all Buddhist writers, the Shinshū priests are the most fertile producers of popular tracts, some of which bear a very striking resemblance to popular tracts amongst ourselves. I have in my possession a collection of these Shinshū tracts, of which I here give a summarized specimen.

A little boy of pious parents in Tōkyō (name and address of parents are given) lies sick, with no hope of recovery. He is eight years old, and has always been a good, nay, a very good little boy, ardent in his faith, constant in his devotions, and regular in his attendance upon sermons. During his last illness he is attended by a doctor who is an unbeliever. The parents stand weeping round the boy, who however, tells them not to weep. "I shall soon be with Amida, in Paradise," says he, "and there I shall wait for you. Tell my brother to be a good boy and not to forget his religion. I want him to be with us there." So affected was the doctor by the invalid's touching little speech, that his conversion was instantaneous, and he immediately joined the Shinshū sect.

Like the rest of the Buddhist sects, the Shinshū followers use the rosary, which they fasten to their hands as a protection against evil thoughts and actions. "We carry a kind of rosary called Nanju," says the Shinshū Catechism,²² "which means "remembering beads," and when we worship Buddha we wear it on our hands.

And, who will beat another's head with the hand which holds the rosary? In a certain Ken (province), recently, there was a devoted believer of our sect. He was then a member of the Ken assembly. He used always to carry a rosary in his hand, and wherever he went he would never take it off his hand. One day, when he was attending the assembly one of the members advised him that he had better take it off while he was proceeding with the deliberation. "Oh no," said he, "you do not know my secret. Since I was chosen as a representative of the people in this Ken, I must do my best for their convenience; I must be fully just, patient and unselfish. But, as I am a man, if I should trust to my own will, I should be perhaps prejudiced, passionate, and selfish. Therefore I always carry this rosary to command my evil temper. because whenever I see this rosary, I remember the mercy of Buddha, and I return to the right."

During the recent earthquake in Tōkyō, an old and devout member of this sect, knowing that the house in which he was living was in danger of falling, sat down in the middle of the room, and rosary in hand commenced his thankful remembrance of Amida's mercy. The house fell and the rafters came crushing all round him. But the old gentleman remained firm, and in the midst of the ruin escaped without a scratch. This story, related in the *Japan Mail* a few days after the earthquake, shows the constancy of mind which is produced by this faith in the mercy of Amida.

²² A Shinshū Catechism by Sho Kwaku Katō, published for Theosophical Society, 1891, p. 25.

In the Shinshū sect there is no use made of charms or spells, and the sect, in this respect, forms an honourable exception to the others. Misfortune has its root in the evil Karma of previous existences, and cannot be avoided by the possession of a talisman, the repetition of some mystic sounds, or the pasting of a piece of paper over the door of the house. Amida's help may not be invoked, yet it is maintained that there are often interpositions of Amida's power, even miraculous ones. And yet it is argued that there is no miracle so great as that oft recurring one "that those who are so sinful can become Buddha by a single thought of relying upon Amitābha."

In the first volume of the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (1880) there is an account of a conference between some of the clergy of the Shinshū sect at Kyōtō, and the members of the French Scientific Mission which was sent out by the French Government for the purpose of enquiring into the religious condition of Japan. I give here a translation of the principal questions and answers.

Q. (By M. Guimet). My first question concerns the origin of heaven, earth and all that surrounds us. How do you explain their formation according to Buddhist principles?

A. (By the Shinshū priests). Buddhism ascribes the existence of all things to what it calls *In-en* (cause and effect). Everything that exists is a combination of infinitely subtle atoms which by various combinations have formed mountains, rivers, plains, metals, stones, plants and trees. The existence of these things comes from the relation of their *In* to their *En*, just as all animate beings are born by virtue of their own *in-en*.

Q. Is there then no creator of heaven, earth and all other things?

A. No.

Q. What is it then that you call *In-en*?

A. Nothing is formed naturally or of its own motion. It is always the relationship of this to that that constitutes a thing. The distance between the cause and the effect varies more or less according to circumstances ; but these two generating elements being by their very nature correlatives, it is from their relationships that all things are produced. Cause separated from effect is absolutely nothing, and so is effect separated from cause.

Q. Do you then admit the existence of a certain order in the formation of heaven and earth ?

A. According to an old Indian tradition the books of the Buddhist religion sometimes mention such an order ; but there is nothing clear or precise to be found. Anyhow, since these accounts tell us that many thousand years have elapsed since the formation of the world, it does not seem likely that during this long period all natural phenomena should have been left to chance or hazard. We can therefore admit a certain order in the formation of things without contravening the fundamental principles of the religion.

Q. Everything in the universe is subject to a general and uniform law. Was this law pre-existent to the formation of heaven and earth ?

A. By the side of everything, there is a law to which it is subject. Heaven and earth were formed by virtue of a natural law which resides in this very formation. Only, some men understand it, and others do not. That is because some possess an intelligence sufficiently developed to comprehend it and others do not.

Q. Do animated beings also owe their existence to *In-en* (cause and effect) ? Do you admit that, from the beginning, all the physical properties and forces, of which our modern physicists speak, have existed ?

A. It is beyond all doubt that animated beings also owe their existence to *In-en*. Everything exists in the

world because, prior to its formation, the reason for its formation already existed. Without this pre-existent law nothing could be formed.

Q. Chemists maintain that when two bodies combine they form a third which is different? Do you admit that this law existed before the formation of everything?

A. Yes.

Q. According to what you have hitherto told me, I remark that your ideas generally agree with those of our European scholars who are from day to day engaged in the investigation of science. I now ask you if the acts of men depend upon God.

A. A man's acts are his own acts: they do not in any way depend upon God.

Q. Do you not, then, admit that God exercises his influence upon humanity, and that he directs us in the accomplishment of our diverse acts of invention or completion?

A. As Buddhism denies a Creator and attributes everything to Cause and Effect, it follows that every act of a man is of his own initiative and done without any intervention of God.

Q. The term "God" is improper. Nevertheless, your religion admits a superior Being, Amida, whom you adore with reverence and faith. Tell me, has Amida's power no influence upon a man's actions?

A. The differences, social and moral, between men, depend more or less on the education they have received, but not on the will of Amida.

Q. Do not the legislative or political reforms in a country depend upon Amida?

A. An act is a human act whether it emanates from one man or from many. It is more or less conformable to reason according as it came from instructed or ignorant men: but it has no direct dependence on Amida.

Q. I am ready to admit that it is by work that a man increases his knowledge, and accomplishes progress in physical science, but when we come to the moral sciences, and the distinctions between good and evil, justice and injustice, does it not seem that there exists a superior being who recompenses or punishes our acts, just as the social power punishes infractions of public social order ?

A. Every good and every evil has as its consequence a happiness or sorrow. This results from the natural idea of *ingwa* (Karma--cause and effect).

The social power, in punishing actions which are opposed to morality only, represses the abuses which come from the external relations of men to one another. This shows that laws are formed by agreement between men, and that they vary according to countries. We have here only a human fact showing the good and evil of the exterior world ; it is one consequence of *in en* (that is to say, an application of the law of cause and effect in this world by means of rewards and punishments awarded by the social power). As for acts which concern the conscience, human compacts could neither punish nor reward them. According to the intensity of the cause, their effect will be manifested sooner or later ; but neither the recompense nor the chastisement comes from without. Man brings happiness and sorrow upon himself, and by himself. Thus, a man commits a wicked action ; if no one knows his guilt, he will suffer no external punishment ; nevertheless his conscience will reprove him more or less severely, and that because the vice, which was the cause of the mis-deed, reacts in some way upon him.

Q. Does the consequence of a bad intention or culpable act always show itself in the life of him who commits it ?

A. The consequences appear sometimes in this life, sometimes after death. We can affirm nothing in advance. Suppose a culpable action to be done to-day : its results

may be apparent at the moment of commission, or a few days later, or at some period after the decease of the guilty person. Thus, whilst the cause exists at the moment of committing the culpable action, the consequences do not declare themselves till a time more or less remote, according to the gravity of the action.

Q. According to what you have told me just now, all things are produced by two elements, cause and effect. But, in industrial questions, it seems to me that there is a concurrence of three elements for production—capital, intelligence and labour. Thus, to establish a factory we must have the capital necessary for its foundation and maintenance, the intelligence of the manager, and the labour of the workmen. If one of these elements be wanting, the factory cannot exist. The same can be seen in the manufacture of pottery. I have never seen anything produced by the concurrence of two elements only.

A. Buddhist *In-En* does not necessarily limit us to two elements. Thus in the cultivation of a plant, the seeds are *In*, the rain, the dew, the water and the earth are *En*. If one of these latter be wanting the plant cannot grow. Hence, the seasons also are a part of the *In*. In reality, there are six kinds of *In* and four orders of *En*. Buddhism never speaks of the concurrence of three elements in the formation of things.

Q. Christianity declares that every man is afflicted with what it calls "original sin." Is there anything analogous to this in Buddhism?

A. There is no mention of Original Sin; only, every man possessing in himself what we call *Mumyō*, i.e. an original error inherent in the very nature (au fond même) of the heart, we say that it is this primitive error which is the cause of all the vices and faults which we have committed and always commit in the *mikai* worlds (lower worlds).

Q. I suppose that what you call *mumyō* cannot be a sin. If it be a sin it can be absolved ; but if it be an error, absolution is impossible.

A. Error may be the cause of a sin, but it is not itself a sin. It is therefore completely distinct from the original sin of Christianity. Thus, an individual commits through ignorance an improper action ; doubtless he is guilty of a fault, inasmuch as he has committed an improper action ; but when his ignorance is taken into consideration, he can scarcely be called guilty.

B. Can one by prayers change a misfortune into a blessing : *e. g.* a poor harvest into an abundant one ?

A. In Buddhism generally, men often talk of the success of prayers addressed to the Deity. But our sect absolutely forbids them. Further, even in general Buddhism men never talk of the transformation of things which can never be transformed : they do not ask for impossibilities. The question of prayer can only present itself therefore in connection with a thing capable of making itself.

To take an example. Every calamity is the consequence of an *In* contaminated with vice. But when a man repents himself of his former actions he promises henceforth only to do actions in accordance with morality. Then, what remains for him to do ? To invoke the Hotoké (Buddha). But the Hotoké listens to no invocation which is directly addressed to him, whether to ask a blessing or to deprecate a misfortune.

It is through ignorance that the unenlightened common people contravene this principle and pray to the Hotoké for fortune or personal well-being. And it is to prevent these superstitions that our Shinshū sect strictly forbids all kind of prayer.

Q. Why are there then, in this temple, people who offer prayer ?

A. They are not prayers. We have said that the acts of this life depend on ourselves, and not at all on the Hotoké; but as our destiny belongs to the Hotoké, we pray to him to watch over us not only in this life, but in our future lives, to deliver us for ever from the life of the lower worlds, and to give us a pure and supreme happiness. This is not properly speaking a prayer.

Q. Can one wash away sins by washing body, hands and mouth before prayer?

A. In a certain number of sects we find such practices: but in our sect there is but the belief in the mercy of the Hotoké. No external act could take away sins.

Q. Why then are there people here who wash their hands and mouths before commencing prayer?

A. It is only to conform to the general custom of the country. If, before worshipping, a man washes his face and hands, it is simply to show respect and veneration, independently of any idea of its being a ceremony required by the Buddhist religion.

* * * * *

Q. Is the soul immortal?

A. Yes. Buddhists call the soul *shinshiki*, and it is from the soul that emanate all our intellectual actions (as thought, imagination), produced by means of sight, hearing, taste, touch, etc. The circulation of the blood and the digestion of food constitute the working by the soul of the organs of our body considered as the abode of the soul; but these functions belong to the material not to the moral domain. The soul is simple, its functions multiple.

* * * * *

Q. Has the animal the same soul as man? Is there nothing to differentiate them except the perfection of their organs?

A. Yes. The soul is the same. The only difference is in the intelligence ; and the difference in the intelligence is only the difference in the functioning of the five organs.

* * * * *

Q. Does Buddhism teach metempsychosis, *i.e.* the endless return of the soul in future lives to receive the recompense or punishment of acts committed in the present life ?

A. Yes. Thus, even when a man has arrived at a very high station, he can always fall from it in consequence of a fault, or be condemned in case of a crime. This is called the *Rin-E* of the present life.

Q. Can the animal soul transform itself into a human soul, or, conversely, can a human soul become an animal soul ?

A. Yes. only this transformation is more or less gradual. The smallest does not at one bound become the greatest.

* * * * *

Q. Does Buddhism admit the resurrection of the soul at the end of the world ?

A. Christianity is the only religion which teaches that the soul will revive at the end of the world. As to the Buddhist religion it teaches that the soul is immortal and that, immediately after death, it endures in the after life the effects of the *In* incurred here.

Q. Do you not teach then that the soul will at the last day re-enter its ancient body ?

A. No. The effect of a cause is produced in an instantaneous and regular manner. How then can it be possible for the soul to await the end of the world and then re-enter its body which is already decayed, destroyed and scattered ?

Q. Does not Buddhism admit the final destruction of the world ?

A. Buddhism teaches us that the world is formed, and that after its formation it exists : after its existence it is destroyed and after its destruction there is chaos ; then the world is again formed, and so on. No one can tell how often formation and destruction have thus succeeded one another. Buddhism further teaches us that the destruction and formation of the world occupy an infinity of kalpas, which no one can calculate.

* * * * *

Q. Shaka is a Buddha. Do you honour him as much as Amida ?

A. Although Amida, through a sentiment of compassion, wishes to save us, we cannot know it. It is therefore out of his mercy that he manifests himself in the person of Shaka. Since the time of this Incarnation, Amida has returned to his former shape, and there is no other Shaka but Amida himself.

Q. If it be thus with Shaka, are there other Buddhas ?

A. The Buddhist scriptures tell us that there are other Buddhas, but that they are all only the Incarnations of the love of Amida ?

Q. What Buddha is Amida ?

A. Amida is a Buddha without beginning or end. He is endowed with miraculous power ; his great intelligence is spread over the Ten Worlds, and there is no place where it does not manifest itself. Such is the essence of Amida, whose goodness and life are eternal. This is what we call the True Buddha of the three periods (past, present and future) and of the ten quarters.

* * * * *

Q. What are the five prohibitions.

A. 1. Not to take animal life. 2. Not to steal. 3. Not to be immodest. 4. Not to lie. 5. Not to drink alcoholic beverages.

Q. What do you say of those who make war ?

A. Since war is the greatest of all murderous acts, it should, properly speaking, be forbidden: only we should distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate wars.

Q. What are we to say in the case of killing animals for food ?

A. The use of meat is forbidden or allowed according to circumstances. . . . If it be done not from cruelty but from necessity imposed by considerations of health, it is permitted to eat meat. . . . There is further a distinction between pure and impure meats. They are impure and consequently forbidden for the man who kills them himself, who orders them to be killed or assists in the killing. In all other cases meats are pure and may be eaten.

Our sect forbids us to kill animals for sport, and always leaves the slaughtering of animals for those whose occupation it is. Herein our sect differs from all the rest.

* * * * *

Q. I should now like to know the religious rules of your sect.

A. The greatest difference that exists between our sect and the others is that *they*²³ forbid their clergy to eat meat and to marry whilst we permit both. There is further a very great difference between us and the other sects in the matter of prohibitions and commandments.

In the other sects, there are precepts which, like the scholastic regulations, do not concern all the citizens. Such are those which regulate the anchorites in the mountains, and certain spiritual exercises. Our prescriptions concern

²³ I have met with married priests in other sects as well—certainly in the *Rinzai* and the *Nichiren*.

all the inhabitants. Civil laws make no distinction between the inhabitants of towns and country, so our precepts are addressed to the whole world. What is peculiar to our sect is that it teaches us to trust Amida Butsu for all that concerns the future life, and that it establishes no law relative to the affairs of this world. For the rest, it forbids, as a religious rule, prayer, offering, and superstitious practices which have for their end happiness for one's self, misfortune for others, the knowledge of the future, etc. It forbids us to worship, the Kamis and the Buddhas. The essential principle is the entire consecration of self to Amida.

Our priests are obliged to certain practices, such as praises to the Amida Buddha, the reading of sacred books, etc. The laity have no other duties but to believe in Amida and obey the laws of the country.

CHAPTER IX.

The Zen sects (the word *Zen* is the Sinito-Japanese corruption for Dhyāna-meditation) are divided as far as Japan is concerned into three divisions. The *Rinzai* division dates from 1168 A.D., the *Sōtō* from 1223 A.D. and the *Ōbaku* from 1650. It will be seen therefore that in its two main branches it is contemporary with the movements inaugurated by Hōnen Shōnin, Shinran, and Nichiren, and that it is but another phase of what we may call the revolt of modern against mediæval Buddhism.

In the Contemplative sects there is a great deal that savours of the original teachings of the Founder, and a very great deal that is eminently Hindu. Neither Japan nor China could of themselves have produced a method so utterly unpractical as that of arriving at the Truth by pure contemplation.

It is a peculiar tenet of this sect that knowledge can be transmitted from heart to heart without the

intervention of words. It is said that on one occasion when Sakyamuni had been asked to preach the law to his disciples he sat down before them in perfect silence, gazing intently on a lotus flower which he held in his hand. None of the assembly could understand what the Teacher meant: at last the light dawned upon the heart of Kasyapa, who smiled at Sakyamuni, and so, without a single word being spoken, the whole audience came by degrees to understand the hidden teaching conveyed in the lotus held aloft by the silent teacher. This silent understanding of the law was afterward handed down through a succession of Indian patriarchs, until about the sixth century of our era it was brought to China, where its establishment was largely due to the labours of the Indian priest Bodhidharma, a famous contemplative, who is said to have sat gazing at a wall for eight years continuously.

In its early form, as introduced to Japan by the *Rinzai* subsect, the Zen system differed but little, if at all, from the form of Contemplation practised in India and China. It was purely contemplative, and the teaching of the Faith was handed down directly from heart to heart without much need being felt for the use of religious books or manuals of doctrines.

But the main branch of the Contemplatives, the *Sōdo* or *Sōtō* branch, as founded by the two celebrated priests Shoyo Taishi, and Butsujizenshi (from whom the Echizen and Noto subdivisions of the Sōtō sect take their origin) was, like everything else that takes root in Japan, first adapted to the soil in which it was planted, and must therefore be considered to be a form of Contemplative religion with Japanese modifications.

Shoyo Taishi, the first founder of the Sōtō sect was born in 1200 A.D., and at an early age admitted (like Nichiren, Shinran and the rest) to the monastery of Hiyēizan near Kyōto. A doubt having arisen in his mind about

a passage in Scripture, he consulted first the head of his own monastery about its meaning, and afterwards on his recommendation, a contemplative priest of the name of Eisai, who was teaching the doctrines of the then nearly established Rinzai sect. But when Eisai died soon afterwards, he felt that he had no teacher left, and therefore went over to China in search of further knowledge. Here Shoyo was received into a monastery, but being despised as a foreigner was assigned the lowest seat in Chapel and Hall. Against this affront, Shoyo protested. In the Buddhist community, he said, all were brothers, and there was no difference of nationality. The only way to rank the brethren was by seniority : and he therefore claimed to occupy his proper rank. With some difficulty, and only after an appeal to the Chinese Emperor, he gained his object. From this time his fame in China was very great, and as he continually advanced in the knowledge of Buddhism, he was recognized as a patriarch and appointed one of the successors of the great Bodhidharma. Having thus acquired the requisite authority, he returned to his country, and establishing himself in the province of Echizen, founded the Sôtô sect as it now exists. "Four hundred years," he is reported to have said, has "Buddhism been taught in this country. It has never "been properly taught until now."

Half a century later *Shoyo Taishi's* system of teaching and organization was completed by *Butsuji Zenshi*, who established himself at Noto, and by his writings and labours merited to be called the second founder of this sect.

The Sôtô sect differs from the pure system of Contemplation inasmuch as the latter (the *Rinzai*) makes Contemplation the sole means of attaining to knowledge, whilst the former joins scholarship and research to Contemplation. The priests of the the Sôtô sect have always been honourably distinguished both for their learning and for their

poverty. '*Zenshu zeni nashi: Monto mono wo shiradzu,*' says the Japanese proverb. "The Zen priests have no money, the monied Montos know nothing."

The first sutra studied by the priests of this sect is the book known as *Shin kyō*, the "heart sutra," the full title of which is *Dai Hannya Haramita Shin Kyō*; and this is a summary of the *Dai Hannya Haramita Kyō*, a book which in its original form is computed to be about six times the size of the New Testament. An excellent commentary on the *Shin Kyō*, nicely printed, has recently been published by Mr. Ouchi Seiran, of Tokyō.

When we have attained, says this Sutra, to the highest wisdom and most perfect enlightenment, then we clearly behold that all the elements of phenomenal existence are empty, vain and unreal. Form does not differ from space, nor space from form; all things surrounding us are stripped of their qualities, so that in this highest state of enlightenment there can be no longer birth or death, defilement or purity, addition or destruction. There is therefore no such thing as ignorance, and therefore none of the miseries that result from it. If there is no misery, decay or death, there is no such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as attaining to happiness or rest.

Hence, to arrive at perfect emancipation we must grasp the fact of utter and entire void. The phenomenal world is vanity of vanities.

Another book much read in this sect is the Sutra of Forty-two Sections, of which an account is given in Beal's Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, to which I would refer the reader. Another popular treatise is the *Fukaku kyō*, a more lengthy treatise of the same type as the Heart Sutra, above mentioned. It is distinctly a Mahāyāna book, intended to glorify the Great Vehicle at the expense of the small, and

consequently the void which it preaches as the only absolutely existent thing, is not the negative void of non-existence, but the positive void of true existence which can only be described by a series of negations. "God," says the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, "comprehendeth all things, and is only immense, not to be comprehended by any; he can neither be defined by any words, nor conceived by the mind."

Another book much used in this sect is a simple handbook of the principles of Buddhism, entitled *Sotokyō Kirai Shūshōgi*, "Exposition of the principles and doctrines of the Sōtō Sect," of which I here give an analysis, reserving to the appendix a complete translation of the text.

In a commentary upon the *Shūshōgi*, recently published in Tōkyō by Mr. Ouchi Seiran, a Buddhist scholar of note, we learn that the book was composed by *Shōyo Taishi* himself as a manual of doctrine for his scholars. The full title is now given *Sōtō Kyōkuai Shūshōgi*, but the name Sōtō Kyōkuai or Sōtō Church is not a designation sanctioned by Shōyo Taishi himself. It was not his object to found a sect, and he refused for himself and followers any distinctive title. He was a Buddhist priest rather than a Zen priest, and never aspired to found the Sōtō sect. Indeed so careful was he, and also his successor Butsuji, that, whereas the other great religious leaders had made Kyōto or Kamakura the centres of their activity, these, on the other hand, retired to remote districts, one in Echizen the other in Noto, and there devoted themselves, not to the instruction of the laity, but to the training of a few priests. The term *Sōtō* dates from a rescript of the Emperor Godaigo Tennō, in which he confers on the Sōjiji Temple the privilege of being considered the head temple of the Sōtō Sect. The title was formally adopted after the publication of the imperial letter.

The Sôtô sect, therefore, does not claim to be any new development of Buddhism, but to be a reassertion of that original teaching which had been handed down uncorrupted through a succession of patriarchs from Shaka to Bodhidharma, and from Bodhidharma to Shôyô Taishi. The Sôtô sect claims to be the *via media* of Buddhism, and the system has all the strength as well as all the weakness that is generally to be found in a *via media*. Its weakness lies in a certain want of enthusiasm or "go," such as will make it acceptable to the lower and more ignorant classes; its strength, in its clear insistence, as against the partial teachings of other sects, on the universals of Buddhism, on what has always and everywhere been held, and by all Buddhists. The *Shûshûgi* therefore is recognized as a standard of doctrine by all sects:—a magazine of the Shinshû sect, for instance, having recently published a short commentary on it together with a partial translation into English. It is this consideration which makes the book of special value.

The book is divided into five chapters, of which the first is an introductory one, stating the general problems of life, and salvation, as they appear to every Buddhist eye; and the doctrine of *ingwa* or *karma* is clearly stated and explained. When the meaning and power of karma has been clearly stated, the next essential is that what man believes in his heart he should confess with his lips; and chap. ii is therefore devoted to the subject of confession of sin and the putting away thereof. Having reached this stage, the believer is now (chap. iii) considered as being in a position, to keep the commandments, and thereby to "take up his position," *i.e.* to enter into the perfection of the Buddhahood. This chapter forms the centre of the book. It is the main teaching of the Sôtô sect, and may be considered as Shôyô's protest against both the Jôdo and the Tendai, that the Buddhahood can be attained to only by the strict

observance of the commandments. In chapters iv and v we are shown the consequences of having reached to the Buddhahood. He in whose mind the conception of the truth has been formed will show the inward truth in two ways. He will conceive the desire of helping others, and he will show his gratitude to the Buddhas for that which he has received from them.

The *Shūshōgi* is the basis of Shoyo's system. In the *Fukun rizen gi*, he goes on to teach the way of contemplation, by which the well-instructed mind may penetrate into the very arena of nature and gain intuitional views of the truth. In this book, he lays down as the necessary basis of all meditation three principal propositions which the believer must accept as self-evident postulates.

I. He must acknowledge that the "way" he has been taught is perfect, and that there is consequently no need to prove it.

II. That religion is liberty, and that there is therefore no hope of forcing the reason to accept what the will refuses. As Swedenborg would express it, "every spiritual thing which enters in freedom and is received in a state of freedom remains, but not the reverse."

III. That the whole body of the law is not far removed from this place, and that consequently we do not need the feet of asceticism to assist us to reach it.

Having accepted these three postulates, the Buddhist contemplative is then directed to prepare for his meditation by moderate eating, and drinking, for while satiety is an obstacle to high thinking, so is also the weakness resulting from too vigorous a fast. He is further to expel from his mind, as far as possible, all thoughts of a worldly nature, so as to leave himself absolutely unfettered for the work before him. It seems, however, to be a misnomer to speak of the work before him. In Buddhist contemplation, the mind has properly speaking no work before it. Buddhist

contemplation is not thinking, but the absence of thought. Sitting on a cushion, with his legs crossed and arms folded, his body erect, his head straight so that the tip of the nose is in a perpendicular line with the navel, with his tongue pressed against the roof of his mouth, and breathing slightly through the nose, he is to think unthinking, *i.e.* he is to sit in a kind of mesmeric condition, with an entire absence of all formulated thought.

, X.

In the Scripture entitled *Saddharma pundarika*, of which I have given an analysis in a previous chapter, there is a prophecy of Sakyamuni's that in the Latter Days of the Law there should arise four great Bodhisattvas who should teach men once more the perfect Law as Sakyamuni himself had taught it in the last and most perfect days of his ministry. It is the belief of the Nichiren sect that in their founder they have one of these four mystical personages incarnated.

This great priest, the founder of a sect which is purely Japanese, was born at Kominato, in Awa, at the entrance to the bay of Yeddo, in 1222. His father, a man of the name of Nukina, was an exile from Kyoto who was living in this village and had married a village girl. The circumstance that Nichiren's father was an exile, possessing no political or social rights, caused his enemies in after days to reproach him with being a *semdara* (Skt. *chandāla* "outcaste"); but the charge was unfounded, for Nukina was really a man of very good family. In his boyhood Nichiren seems to have been remarkable for his tender hearted disposition, and the vocation to the priesthood seems to have come to him through a quarrel that he had with some of his village playmates over the treatment of a wounded bird. At the age of 12, he entered a temple of the Shingon sect, near to his village, *Kyosumidera*, and there remained for some time practising

the complicated ceremonies, and studying the mysterious rites of that sect. The priest of the Temple seems to have taken a great fancy to his young pupil, and in course of time arranged for him to commence a more extended course of studies at Hiyeizan. On his way, a little incident occurred which had much influence on his after career. Stopping to rest at a village inn, during the midday heat, he observed some children dragging about an idol of Sakyamuni, which they were using as a plaything. Shocked at such strange profanity, he remonstrated with the landlord of the inn, who told him that since Shinran's teaching had demonstrated the futility of all Buddhas except Amida, they did not seem to have had any further use for the idol of Sakyamuni, and so had allowed the children to play with it. That the founder of the faith should thus be driven out from his own religion made a deep impression upon Nichiren, who from that moment determined to be a great religious reformer. Accordingly, he entered upon his studies with great zest, but, like Hōnen Shōnin, Shinran, and many others, he found the Tendai teachings as taught at Hiyeizan far too wide and comprehensive, and again resorted to a system of eclecticism. But his eclecticism was a more logical one than that of the others, for he chose as his special basis of doctrine the same book which Dengyō Daishi had taken for his, and devoted himself entirely to its elucidation. He does not however seem to have declared himself until he had completely finished his studies at Hiyeizan, and then returning to his little temple of Kyōsumidera, before an audience of people whom he had known from his youth, he preached the sermon which has generally been considered as the foundation of his sect. Commencing with the new formula "Namu myō hō renge kyō," "Hail to the scripture of the Lotus of Good Law," he preached on the shortcomings of all the existing sects, and pointed out that in the Hokekyō (Saddharmapundarika Sutra) alone

was to be found the true and highest teaching of Sakya-muni. This sermon caused a great commotion, and Nichiren was forced to escape for his life from his indignant auditors. He now retired to a cottage at Nagoye, near Kamakura, where he set himself to work to propagate his opinions. Kamakura was at this time the second capital of Japan, and was the residence of the Shōguns in whose hands so much of the civil power was concentrated. We can see the wisdom of Nichiren in selecting this place for the scene of his labours. Whilst the Imperial Court at Kyōto had become hopelessly weak, the spirit of political ambition had entered into the great religious houses of the Mikado's capital; so that there was no opening for a religious reformation there. Shinran's most successful labours had been in the rural districts of Hitachi and Shimotsuke, and the Shōgun attracted around himself all that was progressive and energetic in the country. It was here therefore that Nichiren determined to preach and teach. His teaching met with singular success; the common people heard him gladly and attributed to his intercessions a period of rain after a long drought. Even the nobles listened to the bold speaker whose open denunciations were so different from what they had been accustomed to hear from the clergy of the older sects. But the more his popularity increased amongst the laity, so much the more virulent became the opposition of the priests. Fortunately, or unfortunately, they possessed the ear of the regent Tokiyori, who, in the year 1261, banished him to Ito in Idzu. A very pretty story is connected with this incident. The sea was very rough, and the vessel which bore the exile across the bay of Sagami was unable to approach the dangerous coast of Idzu. So the sailors, impatient of delay, landed their prisoner on a rocky islet some distance from the land, and, telling him to swim ashore when the storm abated, made off and left him. Nichiren at once stood up, rosary in

hand, and commenced in a loud voice to recite his office. A fisherman on the shore observed him, and, at the peril of his life, came out to rescue him, thinking him to be some shipwrecked mariner. This man was Nichiren's first disciple in Idzu. Soon afterwards he was pardoned, but, continuing his pugnacious methods of evangelization, was again in trouble, and, about the year 1272, was thrown into prison with six of his companions, and condemned to death. But when the night came for his decapitation, a double miracle occurred. The Regent Tokimune had a dream, warning him to spare the condemned man's life, so vivid that he sent a messenger at once to stay the execution. At the same moment, the executioner was making three distinct attempts to behead the prisoner, but failed each time, from some supernatural cause. Astonished at this, he also sent a messenger, to inform the regent of what had occurred. The spot where the two messengers met is still pointed out on the road along the coast between Kamakura and Enoshima.

Nichiren's punishment was commuted to a sentence of banishment to the island of Sado, from which he was released in 1274. After a short residence in Kamakura, where his opportunities of gaining influence were now a thing of the past, he retired to a beautiful spot among the mountains of Kōshū, where he founded the celebrated monastery of Minobu San, and spent the next eight years in giving religious instruction to his numerous visitors. Then, finding that his end was drawing near, he determined once more to visit the scenes of his former labours, the provinces of Musashi and Sagami; and died at Ikegami, about three miles from what is now Tōkyō, in the house of his friend Emon no Taiyu Munenaka.

Nichiren is distinctly the most picturesque character in the whole history of Japanese Buddhism, and we cannot wonder that he should have deeply impressed his personality upon his own sect. To this day, the Nichiren sect

maintains the characteristics of its founder. It is pugnacious, defiant, proud, as he was. Nichiren is equally well known to literature and art. One of the favourite subjects for a picture is the scene of his attempted execution, and one of the great successes of the Tōkyō theatre this year (1894) has been the play of Nichirenki.

I am indebted to the Very Rev. Abbot Kobayashi, of the Daidanrin College Tōkyō, for the following summary of the Nichiren doctrines.

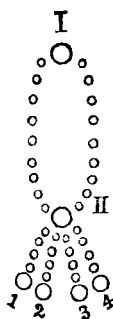
Jitsu daijōkyō i.e. "the true teaching of the Mahāyāna," is the doctrine which is founded on the Hokekyō (Saddharma pundarika) which says that the Tathagata of Original Enlightenment, and all the Buddhas, had but one object in view, namely to lead all men to that Enlightenment which is the true Buddhahood. So he first preached, as we have already shown, the doctrine of sudden expansion, called *Kegon*, in which he suddenly expanded before men the whole of his Truth. Finding however that this was a doctrine which but few could grasp, he laid it aside for a while, and preached the lower stages of the truth, such as are contained in the *Agamas*, and other Sūtras of the Lesser Vehicle. He then began to preach the expanded doctrines known as *Vaipulya* or *Hōdō*: from which he went on to the *Hannya* (Skt. Prajñā), in which, by a most complicated system of metaphysical subtleties, he showed the absolute identity of reality and unreality. And finally, in the *Hokke* period, he showed the identity of all the preceding methods, as comprised now within the one Vehicle of Faith, so that at the close of his ministry he could say with truth: "What I have purposed is now satisfied: now all things can, by me, enter the state of enlightenment."

According to the *Kenhonkyō*, which is the name given by the scholars of this sect, to the main teachings of Saddharma pundarika, the book is divided into two

portions. The last fourteen chapters contain the doctrine founded upon the Hokekyō, and the first fourteen chapters give the main teachings of the Hokekyō itself.

In the Hannya, or Sekimon teachings, we are shown the reality of all things, and are taught that all living things bear the nature of Buddha; but it is not until we reach the *Kenhomyō* stage, that we are shown what is that nature of Buddha with which all living beings are identical. All the Buddhas in all directions, past, present, and future, are the counterparts of Sakyamuni; but, when we speak of Sakyamuni, we do not mean the historical Sakyamuni who left his family, taught and died; but the Sakyamuni Buddha in his real and immortal state. This is the true Buddha—the moon in the heavens; the other Buddhas are like the moon reflected in the waters, transient, shadowy reflections of the Buddha of Truth. It is this being who is the source of all phenomenal existence, and in whom all phenomenal existence has its being. The imperfect Buddhism, therefore, teaches a chain of cause and effect; true Buddhism teaches us that the first link in this chain of cause and effect is the Buddha of Original Enlightenment, of whom the historical Sakyamuni, and the rest are but the transient reflections. When this point has been reached true Wisdom has at length been attained.

The importance of this concession it is hard to over-estimate. The Tathāgata of Original Enlightenment is clearly *God*, the being in whom all creatures “live, move, and have their being.” I have sometimes thought that this view is strengthened by the peculiar form of the Nichiren Rosary. The large bead marked I is Tabō, Skt. Prabhutaratna; that marked II. is Sakyamuni, the historical manifestation of I, whilst the four beads marked 1. 2. 3. 4. are the four great



Bodhisattvas, also emanations of I and II., who shall in the Latter Days preach the law. A Christian could make out of this rosary a very good illustration of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

But the capacities of living beings are as various as their number is great. It is therefore the wise mercy of the Tathāgata to suit the teachings to their capacities. To those in a lower state, he gives, like a wise physician, medicine suitable to their condition, and leads them along a path by which they may avoid the conditions of beasts and demons, and be assured of a birth amongst men or angels. This is called the *Nintengyō*, or doctrine of man and deus. Again, to those in a higher condition, he presents the four great truths and the twelve causes, etc. and so places them in the Small Vehicle of Buddhist doctrine. To the wise in heart again, according to their several characteristics, he preaches the various forms of the Great Buddhism—the philosophy of the Shingon, the exstatic wisdom of the Contemplatives, or the fervent faith of the Jōdo and Shinshū. But all these are only imperfect presentations:—to those who would be perfect, the Tathāgata offers in the *Hokekyō*, a system which combines in itself all philosophy and wisdom, human and divine, all faith and all knowledge.

Swedenborg seems to echo the teachings of Nichiren when he says that our character is formed by our predominant will, and that according to our leading desires so will our place be determined in the world to come. The leading desire of him who would become a Buddha is to purify, not this part or that, but every part, and thus to make his whole body a fit habitation for the all-pervading Tathāgata.

XI.

We have now reached the fullest stage in the development of Japanese Buddhism. We have traced

the faith of Sakyamuni from the life of its Founder to the evolution of the various vehicles. We have seen how the promulgation of Greater Vehicle doctrines in India was accompanied by a great outburst of missionary zeal which sent the hardy Indian priests over the mountain ranges, that surround on all sides the native country of the Buddha, to propagate the faith among the mountain ravines of Kashmir and Thibet, along the fertile valleys and thickly populated coasts of China, and at length over the seas through Korea to Japan.

We have traced the gradual changes and development of the faith, from the time when it first came over to these shores in a crude undigested form, imperfectly explained to the natives of the country by missionaries who were every whit as much foreigners as the Christian missionaries of to-day, to the time when under the guidance of native priests the now-existing sects were established and brought to their full development. We have seen in the sects themselves a gradual upward tendency. In the Tendai sect we have seen a comprehensiveness of view so large that it has defeated its own object. Unable to grasp the whole cycle of Buddhist teachings men have arisen within the great Tendai monastery of Hieizan, who have, each in his turn, seized upon some one portion of the Tendai teachings and developed it to the utmost of its extent. So Hōnen and Shinran preached Amida, and Amida, alone, thus approaching very near to the monotheistic faith of Christianity; whilst the Contemplatives have come very near to the idea of an ineffable God whom human words cannot describe nor human thoughts adequately conceive; and Nichiren seems almost to have reached to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. We have seen too that Shingon, the faith of Daiichi or Vairocana as taught by Kōbō

Daishi, has had no spiritual progeny ; no sects trace their pedigree back to his system, which is very nearly akin to Gnosticism.

In writing the account of the various sects I have done my best to present their good side only. Every faith has a right to be judged by its best specimens, and its highest teachings, and it is on its bright side that I have preferred to view Japanese Buddhism.

But I would not conceal from myself that there is a dark side to Japanese Buddhism, as there is to all Buddhism everywhere. The germs of truth, which I have sought to develop, lie hid amongst a mass of superstitious practices. It is perhaps owing to their multitudinous divisions that the Buddhist priesthood do not exercise the influence which they ought to exercise. The "fissiparous" nature of Japanese Buddhism must always be remembered : it is propagated by divisions. Each one of the greater sects is subdivided into a large number of sub-sects, in some cases there are as many as ten sub-sects to one sect. If these sub-sects (and they are all autonomous bodies) be taken into consideration, there must be nearly 70 Buddhist sects in the country. Some of these sects do not, it is true, represent variations of doctrine. The merest local accident often caused a division. Thus, the two Hongwanji, with their numerous successions of priests, owe their division to the action of one great Japanese hero who burnt a temple, and of another who allowed the temple to be rebuilt ; whilst the Noto and Echizen branches of the Zen sect, which are absolutely identical in doctrine, trace their separation to the fact that Butsuji Zenshi took up his residence in a different temple from that in which Shoyo Taishi had taught and worshipped. On such slight foundations is it possible for the spirit of Japanese sectarianism to work.

There is contained in several of the Buddhist Scriptures a prophecy about the Latter Days of the Law. By degrees, it is said, the teachings of Sakyamuni should lose their vigour, and men should be unable to save themselves as Sakyamuni would have wished them to do.

This prophecy of the Latter Days of the Law seems to have made a very deep impression on the Japanese mind during the thirteenth century of our era, the period of religious fervour which saw the rise of the four great sects of Jōdo, Shinshū, Zen, and Nichiren. Honen Shōnin and Shinran both justified their preaching of salvation by faith in Amida, by maintaining that in the "Latter Days" salvation by works had become impossible, and that if Amida had not opened the gate of *tariki*, or salvation by the merits of another, no man could be saved; and Nichiren not only proclaimed the Advent of these "Latter Days," but taught further that he himself was one of four great Bodhisats, who, according to the prophecy in the Saddharma pundarika, should appear during that period to teach men the truth.

The period of the Latter Days was to continue for five hundred years. Long ere those five hundred years could possibly have elapsed, there appeared on the shores of Japan teachers of a different race and country who may perhaps have been the ones foreshadowed in Buddhist prophecy. I refer to the Catholic Missions of the Sixteenth century whose romantic history is so familiar to everyone who knows anything about Japan.

The story of the Catholic Missions in Japan has been so often told, and by more skilful pens than mine, that I do not venture to repeat the tale. Suffice it to dwell for a short on the effects which the strife had upon Buddhism.

Before the Advent of Christianity, Japanese Buddhism bid fair to destroy itself. "A house divided against itself cannot stand;" and the embittered controversies between

the sects, especially the Shinshū and Nichiren, fully justify us in calling the Buddhism of that period a house divided against itself. The coming of Christianity welded into a temporary whole the disjointed parts of Buddhism. At first, singularly weak in argument against the keen dialectics and burning zeal of scholars trained in the discipline of St. Ignatius, the Buddhist monks gradually learned many wholesome lessons from their opponents. The differences between the worshipper of Amida, and the noisy preacher of *Namu myō hō renge kyō*, sank into insignificance when compared with the greater differences between Buddhist and Christian; and at last, taking full advantage of the strategic and political errors of the foreign priests, the Buddhists made one great united effort, and, as history tells us, triumphed.

The struggle against Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the hammer that welded Japanese Buddhism into one. It would however be a mistake to suppose that the victory over Christianity was bought without a proportionate price. Buddhism conquered, but it was exhausted. During the whole of the Tokugawa period, from the time when Christianity was overthrown down to the beginning of the present era of progress, Buddhism seems to have been lifeless.

No new sect was then founded, with the exception of the Ōbaku sect of the Zenshū, which dates from 1650. It was founded by a Chinese, not a native, priest, and never took very deep root in the land.

No controversy of any kind seems to have seriously disturbed the tranquil slumber of the Church. It is true that, as a Japanese priest said to me, there were a few of the "ordinary disagreements" between the Shinshū and the Nichirens, but these disagreements involved no principles of controversial interest; they were merely petty squabbles such as the historian need not notice.

And, as a still more effective sign of stagnation, there followed a period of literary inactivity and a general decay, not of learning but of thought. Very few books on Buddhism were written during this period, and what was written does not seem to have been more than second-class.

We shall not be surprised then to find that, as those smooth uneventful years glided past, the moral weight of Buddhism became less and less, that the testimony against vice and wickedness became more and more feeble, and that every decade saw a worldly and degenerate priesthood losing its grasp upon the faith and respect of those who should hear the law at its mouth.

With the present era there has come a change over the Buddhist clergy. The Restoration brought disendowment to their temples, and a wholesome period of poverty to themselves. It was a rude awakening to them after the torpid affluence they had enjoyed under the rule of the Tokugawas. Scarcely awakened by this rude shock, they found themselves once more confronted by the same old enemy whom two centuries before they had fought and conquered. The same old enemy and yet a changed foe. The two centuries of European life had done much to change the condition of the foreign invaders; and now, stronger in some respects though weaker in others, the attacking party stand at the citadel gate of Buddhism, with newly-forged engines and a more scientific system of strategical tactics.

Once more the phenomena of history are repeating themselves. The Buddhist priests, at first too ill-instructed to match themselves in argument with the west, had recourse to those worst of arguments, violence, detraction, or a sullen silence. But by degrees better counsels prevailed, and they have in many instances set themselves honestly to master the conditions of the new problem so that they may better cope with their eager foes.

No one can have studied contemporary Buddhist literature without being struck by one further phenomenon, for all the better class of magazines and books tell the same story. The conflict with the common foe is deepening the sense of the essential unity between all Buddhists, not only in this country, but in all these lands where Shaka's name is revered. That the conflict between the two faiths must become more acute is what we all must expect. That history should again repeat itself and give us a repetition of the sad scenes of the sixteenth century is what we shall all unite in deprecating.

APPENDIX I.

 "NĀGĀRJUNA."

When the dynasty of Asoka waned, and gave place to that of the illustrious Chandra, Nāgārjuna was born in Central India, destined to play an important part in the religious history of Buddhism. According to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of Indian historians, he was born a century before Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of Magadha. But to conform his age to the conjectural chronology of the occidental orientalists, one would be required to bring that date more than a century later than Alexander's invasion of India. Nāgārjuna's age must remain a positive uncertainty so long as we cannot get hold of the historical works of the Indian authors of the Buddhistic period.

A rich Brahman of the Vidarbha country had had no son born to him for many years, and, earnestly desiring one, set about doing many good works. In reward for these, a child was born to him, according to promise, but the child was extremely delicate, and not likely to live for more than seven days. Austerities and prayers were again resorted to, and the divine promise was given that his life should be spared for seven years.

At the end of that period, when both parents and child were overwhelmed with grief at the approaching doom, Avalokitesvara (Kwannon) appeared to the child and advised him to escape from death by taking refuge

in the monastery of Nalendra in Magadha. Arriving there he was told by the Abbot, a great saint named *Saraha*, to become a monk and devote himself to the service and worship of the great Buddha *Aparimita Âyusha*. This he did, was ordained in due course, and by his great sanctity obtained a supernatural power.

After a while, however, the supernatural power was taken from him, and he was left to supply its place as best he could. For a time, he supported himself and his monks by the charity of the neighbouring nobility; but when a famine put a stop to this, he started out on an extensive tour. This being successful, and the monastery being now freed from pecuniary cares, he began his religious duties with fresh zeal.

"He opposed the theories of *Sankarâchârya* and imparted religious instruction to the monks of Nalendra." He is said to have preached with great success to the *Nâgas* in the nether world,—from whom he got his name of *Nâgârjuna*. Returning to his own country he devoted himself to good works, and especially to the propagation of his teaching by literary means, and composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy, and alchemy. The names of a great number of these books will be found in Mr. Nanjo's Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures. He succeeded *Saraha Bhadra* in the chief priesthood of the Nalendra monastery, and fully developed the *Madhyamikâ* system of philosophy.

But, whilst developing his own system, he does not seem to have neglected the older systems of philosophy, for he laboured so successfully for the prosperity of the *Śrâvakas*, or *Hīnayāna* Buddhists, that his influence over them was unbounded, and he became recognized as the head of the whole Buddhist Church. So great indeed was his reputation that he is called in the Tibetan books the second Buddha, as having consolidated all that *Sakyamuni* had only begun.

The account of his death reads remarkably like the account of the death of St. John the Baptist in the Gospels.

The above short account of Nāgārjuna is abridged from a paper on this subject by Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1882. It will show the extremely important place occupied in Mahāyāna Buddhism by this Saint.

Mr. Nanjo identifies the Madhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy with the *Son ron shu*, which is described in Chap. v. of his book on the Twelve Buddhist Sects in Japan.

Though Nāgārjuna's influence was so great we find that in his time were developed the first germs of what was afterwards known as the Yôgachârya heresy.

APPENDIX II.

PRINCIPLES AND TEACHINGS OF THE ŚŌTŌ SECT.

CHAPTER I.—(GENERAL INTRODUCTION).

1. The understanding of life and death is the main principle of Buddhism. If, in the midst of life and death, there be understanding (*or, personified, Buddha*) there is no life nor death. Only when we think of life and death, as of Nirvana itself, we must not loathe the one because it is life and death, nor pray for the other because it is Nirvana. It is then for the first time that we come to stand outside of life and death. But we must consider this to be the most important principle.

2. It is hard to obtain a human body, it is a rare thing to meet with the law of Buddha. To-day, thanks to the help of our previous merits, we have not only obtained that human body which it is so difficult to obtain, but we have met with the law of Buddha which it is so difficult to meet with. This is in truth the excellent life produced by an accumulation of previous merits. We must not heat the body of righteousness with carelessness, nor give up the dewy life to the transient wind.

3. It is hard to trust to the transient, and the dewy life shall it not vanish somewhere on the grass by the road side? The body is not a private possession, and the life is but a shadow cast by the light that remains but a short while.

The beautiful colour has gone from the face, and there is no seeking for it. When we seek for it there is no second return of it for us to meet with. When the Transient comes upon us suddenly, neither King nor Minister, parent nor servant, wife, nor child, nor treasures can help us. Alone we must go into the next world, taking with us nothing but only our good and evil actions.²³

4. In the present life we should not associate with heretical men, that do not know the law of cause and effect, nor discern retribution, nor distinguish between good and evil, nor know the three worlds (of past, present and future). All the reasons of *Karma* are clear and without partiality. Whosoever doeth evil shall fall, whosoever doeth good shall rise : and there is no uncertainty in it. When the law of cause and effect is not established nor discerned, there is no apparition of all the Buddhas, nor does any great religious teacher come from the West.

5. In the retribution of good and evil there are three seasons ; when the retribution comes in this life, when it comes in the next and when it comes in some more remote life. These are called the three seasons. In learning the path of the founder of Buddhism, we must begin by learning and clearly distinguishing the retributions of these three seasons. If we do not do so we shall often err and fall into heresy. And not only shall we fall into heresy, but by falling into evil life we shall receive a long continuing pain.

6. This thing we must know. The body of this present life is not two nor three. Is it not a sorrowful thing to fall into heresy, and feel solely the result of bad actions ? When a man does evil he cannot

²³Mr. Ouchi, in this commentary explains this in such a way as to deny the immortality of the individual soul. That which "goes with us" is nothing but the *goriki* or five *skhandhas*, not the individual soul.

escape from the retribution due to his evil deeds by adopting the heretical notion that it is not evil and that there shall be no retribution for it.

CHAPTER II.

CONFESSION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF SIN.

7. The Founder of Buddhism has, through the greatness of his compassion, opened a wide gate of benevolence into which all sentient beings may enter. Whether man or angel, all can enter. Though the aforesaid retribution of evils in the three seasons can certainly not be avoided, yet when we make confession and the like, we can diminish the burden and receive relief; moreover the destruction of sin causes us to be pure.

8. Therefore, with all our heart must we make confession to the pre-existent Buddhas. When we do this with truth the pre-existent Buddhas save us by aid of the virtue of confession and make us pure. It is this virtue that makes perfect the Pure Faith and Active Desire. When the Pure Faith is realized, it obliterates the distinction between self and others, and its influence is felt universally by inanimate as well as by animate beings.

9. Its main principles are as follows: we must pray that, although the many bad actions of our previous lives are a hindrance to us, yet we may, through the mercy of all the Buddhas and Saints, who have reached the perfect Enlightenment by the path of virtue, receive the forgiveness of sins; and that they may bring us out of suffering and enable us to obtain a part of that virtue which is spread over and fills the limitless World of the Law. The Buddhas were in the past such as I am: I in the future shall be like the Buddhas.

We must then confess that the causes of all the bad actions of which we are guilty are covetousness,

anger and folly, having no definite beginning and proceeding from body, mouth and will; and now we confess them all. When we have confessed, as above, we receive the protection of the Buddhas. Expose your hearts to Buddha, and thereby you may cut off the roots of your sin.

CHAPTER III.

ACCEPTING THE COMMANDMENTS AND ENTERING UPON THE POSITION OF A BUDDHA.

11. Next to the above, we must venerate the three treasures of Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood; even through the transformations of life and body, we should offer sacrifices and pray to the Three Treasures. That which the Buddhas and Sages of western regions and oriental countries have handed down and instituted, is the action of reverence towards Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood.

12. If there be sentient beings of miserable fortune and low virtue, they cannot even hear the names of the Three Treasures, how then shall they come to believe? Do not believe, haunted by vain superstition, in the demons of the mountains and other evil spirits, nor in the temple of heretical paths. He who does so cannot, on account of his belief, escape from all pains. By speedily believing in the Three Treasures of Buddha, Law and the Priesthood, not only does a man escape from all pains, but he also arrives at perfect perception.

13. Now as to that Faith in the Three Treasures, a man must have a completely pure faith both in the Tathāgata during his life time and in Tathāgata at rest, and must worship repeating with his mouth: *Namu Kie butsu; namu kie hō; namu kie sō.* (Glory to Buddha the Law and the Priesthood.) Buddha is our great Teacher, therefore we believe in Him; the Law is our good medicine therefore we believe in it; the Priesthood is our excellent friend,

therefore we believe in it. The only way to become Buddha's disciples is through the three beliefs. Whatever commandments we receive, we must first receive the three beliefs, and afterwards we can receive all the commandments. Thus indeed it is through the Three Beliefs that we receive the commandments (of virtue).

14 As for this belief in Buddha the Law and the Priesthood, when its virtue truly has an effect upon our lives, then it becomes pure. Whether Heavenly Beings or men, inhabitants of Hell, or Brutes, if there be the influence on the life, then truly is the belief seen. Then our belief is gradually increased from life to life, from world to world, from being to being, from place to place ; and then we complete the Unsurpassed Right Universal Wisdom. Then we know that the merit of the three Beliefs is most excellent and most mysterious. The Blessed one has proved it. Therefore all sentient Beings should accept the Beliefs.

15. In the next place, we must accept the three collective clear commandments, (i) the commandments for completing discipline, (ii) the commandments for completing good actions, (iii) the commandments for perfecting salvation ; and after these we must accept the ten capital prohibitions : (i) Not to kill, (ii) not to steal, (iii) not to commit adultery, (iv) not to lie, (v) not to sell wine, (vi) not to be censorious, (vii) not to cause others to stumble, (viii) not to covet, (ix) not to be angry, (x) not to despise the three treasures.

The Beliefs, the three Collective clear Commandments, and the ten capital Prohibitions are received and taught by all the Buddhas.

16. The receiving of the Commandments, and the like, is the proof of that Nirvana which consists in the unsurpassed Right Universal Wisdom which all the Buddhas of the three ages have proved. What wise man does not wish to attain to it ? The Blessed One has taught all

sentient beings, that whatever sentient being accepts the commandments of Wisdom, enters *ipso facto* into the position of all Buddhas (into the grade of all wisdom). That position is equivalent to the great Enlightenment; finally they indeed become the sons of all the Buddhas.

17. All Buddhas, always abiding in and holding it, leave not perception in every direction; when sentient creatures arrive at the highest perception, they lose the sense of direction. At this time it is seen that vegetables, land, stones, fences, &c. all partake of the Buddha-nature. Thereby, those who partake in the benefit of the wind and water that rise out of them, are, all of them, helped by the mysterious supernatural influence of Buddha, and show forth the close enlightenment. This is the virtue of *mu-i* ("doing nothing"), this is the virtue of *mu-sa* ("doing nothing"): this is *hotsu bodaishin* (the springing up of the Bodhi-heart).

CHAPTER IV.

THE DESIRE FOR SAVING OTHERS.

18. The arousing of Perception is the desire to save all sentient beings before we have as yet 'crossed over' ourselves. Whether one be a layman or a priest, a celestial being or a human, in sorrow or in joy, he should hasten to arouse this desire of *altruism* (*ji-mi-toku-do-sen-do-ta.*)

19. Though their outward appearance may be humble, those in whom this feeling is aroused, become our teachers. Even a girl of seven years old becomes the teacher of the four-fold relationships,²¹ and the parent of all sentient beings. Neither is there any question of male and female. This is the mysterious law of the path of Buddha.

²¹ i.e. *Bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *ubāṣoku*, *ubai* "laymen, and laywomen monks and nuns."

20. If, after conceiving this Heart of perception, we still revolve in the six states of life, and the four methods of birth, the cause of that (continued) metamorphosis is all the practical desire for Wisdom. Therefore, though our past life has been profitlessly past, yet, whilst this life still remains, we must hasten to arouse this future hope. Though we ourselves have that perfect merit which enables us to arrive at Wisdom, yet must we, with deeper meditation, direct our thoughts to the obtaining of perfect Wisdom by all sentient beings. Some men by countless actions have caused sentient beings to cross over, yet have themselves not reached the Buddhaship. Nevertheless they have saved sentient beings, and assisted them.

21. For benefiting others, there are four kinds of transcendent wisdom: (i) almsgiving, (ii) kind words, (iii) benevolent actions, (iv), sympathetic impartiality. These are the practical desires of the man who holds the Truth.

By almsgiving is meant not to covet: and it also means that though a man possess nothing, yet he may exercise liberality. However light the gift may be, the act of giving is real. We can therefore practise almsgiving by means of one word or one prayer. We can do alms with the treasure of one cent or one blade of grass, which will be the source of profit in this life and the next. Moreover the law, which defines the origin of profit in this world and the next, shall be your treasure: your treasure also shall be the law. But (in doing alms) we must exert our strength and look for no return. To build a bridge and prepare boats for men to cross over, is an act of almsgiving, and of course every human industry may be considered as such.

22. By kind words it is meant that when we see sentient beings we conceive a feeling of kindliness for them, and address them with words of kindness. To treasure in one's memory words, such as, "think of all sentient beings as thy children," is to use kind words.

If there be virtue, praise it: if there be no virtue, use words of pity. The reconciliation of our enemies, and the binding together in harmony of perfect men, rests on the foundation of kind words. To hear kind words in reply, delights the face and the heart: to hear kind words given even in absence, makes an impression on the memory and soul. You may be sure that kind words have a great and powerful influence.

23. Benevolence is the doing of righteous acts of help to living creatures whether of high or low degree; as when we help a tortoise in trouble, or a sick sparrow without looking for a reward, and in a one-sided manner. The foolish man thinks: if I work first for another then my own benefit will be diminished. It is not so. Benevolence is one law, of universal application, and gives profit to self as well as to others.

24. Sympathetic Impartiality is equality of disposition to all, to self as well as to others. For instance, the Incarnate Nyorai took on Him Human Nature. Treat him as distinct and he is the same as self, treat him afterward as self and he is the same as others. The distinction between self and others depends on time and is infinite. It is a sort of impartiality that the sea accepts all waters. Therefore the gathering together of individual waters becomes a collective sea.

25. Every one that desires the Great Perception must in quietness meditate upon the above reasons. Do it not neglectfully. We must worship and venerate the merit by which all beings receive conversion through the perfect acceptance of the saving commandments.

CHAPTER V.

ACT OF THANKSGIVING FOR LAYING HOLD OF THE COMMANDMENTS.

26. This desire of Perception ought to arise frequently the men of Mu-em-pu (Asia). Now we, having a cause

for arousing the desire in this world, have been born in this land. Shall not the sight of Sakyamuni the Buddha please us ?

27. Quietly should we consider : When the True Law was not spread abroad through the world, we could not meet with it, even though we were willing to sacrifice our lives. To-day that we have our desire to meet with the True Law, Buddha says : " When thou desirest to meet with the teacher that explaineth the unsurpassed Law, think not of many tribes : look not upon the appearance : dislike not the family : think not upon action : only thinking upon Hannya, and worship and meditate three times a day. Suffer not a heart of sorrow and passion to arise in thee." Shall we not see it ?

28. That we can now see Wisdom and hear the law, is a mercy that comes to us from laying hold of the actions of former founders of religion. If the founders of our religion had not handed it down, how would it have reached to our day ? We must be thankful for the kindness that gives us one maxim, or one law. Much more therefore must we return thanks for the great mercy of the unsurpassed Great Law ? The sick sparrow never forgets a kindness : the rings of the three Great Ministers are no surer token. The distressed tortoise forgets not a kindness : the seal of Yofu is no surer token. Beasts even show their gratitude. How shall men not feel it ?

29. In showing this gratitude, men need not go to extraneous or superabundant laws ; the performance of daily duty is the path of justifying (proving) one's gratitude. That which is called reason is the not neglecting of one's daily life, nor wasting it in selfishness.

30. Time flies more swiftly than an arrow, life is more evanescent than the dew. By what wise devices of righteousness can we recall a single day when it is gone ? If we live foolishly for a hundred years, the days

and months will be full of sorrow, and the body be full of misery. If we become the slaves of passions for a hundred years, and then but for one day do that which is lawful and right; not only shall we have the merit of righteous conduct for a hundred years, but, further, the power of helping other lives for the same period. This life of one day is precious, and the body (in which it is lived) is precious also. Love the body itself and the heart itself. By means of this practice we can attain to the vision of the practice of all the Buddhas, we can proclaim the great path of all the Buddhas. Thus the practice of one day is the sowing of the seed (which will produce) all the Buddhas, it is the practice which leads to all the Buddhas.

31. When then we speak of all the Buddhas, we mean Sakya Muni. Sakya Muni is *soku shin ze butsu*.²⁵ When all the Buddhas, of past, present and future, attain to Buddhahood they become Sakya Muni; he is verily the *soku shin ze butsu*. If we ask who is meant by the Universal Buddha, it will be found in the requiring of the mercy of Buddha.

²⁵ lit. "mind itself Buddha."

APPENDIX III.

JAPANESE HYMNOLGY.

Japanese Buddhism is rich in hymnology, and possesses several hymn books, many of which are of considerable antiquity. The Jōdo Wasan, for instance, is said to contain many hymns dating from that period of revival which witnessed the labours of such great Saints as Shinran and Nichiren. But the hymn writing spirit is by no means exhausted, and there are in all the Buddhist papers and magazines many new hymns, some of as late a date as the commencement of this year (1894).

These hymns are of great use to the Buddhist clergy as a means of keeping alive in the minds of their people not only the tenets of the Buddhist faith, but also the memory of great men and notable incidents connected with the history of their religion.

Whilst these hymns do not form a proper part of Buddhist liturgies, they are frequently employed in Temple services, especially as adjuncts to preaching; and are more particularly of use in the homes of the people.

During the early part of this year, when a religious wave was passing over the people (a 'revival' due I believe very largely to a play on the life of Nichiren, which had a considerable run in one of the principal metropolitan theatres), it was, I am told, a very common thing for earnest Buddhists to hold meetings in private houses at

which hymn singing formed a very leading feature. Such meetings naturally have had a great effect on the religious enthusiasm of the people.

I remember several years ago to have attended a preaching service in the Temple attached to the the Daigakurin at Azabu in Tōkyō. (The Daigakurin is the principal theological College of the Sōtō sect in Tōkyō). This service was preceded by a kind of liturgy, the details of which I do not now very clearly remember, with the exception of a peculiar sort of procession in which all the priests walked round and round the temple repeating for about ten minutes some words which I did not catch. (This *mawarigijō* or "processional" I have since seen in other temples as well.) After it was ended, there came a pause in the service, to allow the pulpit to be brought into the Temple, and, I suppose also, to give the preacher a few minutes for the collection of his thoughts. During this interval, a few young priests who were sitting in a remote corner of the temple struck up a hymn which was presently taken up by the congregation and sung with some effect. I may as well perhaps here remark that foreigners are apt to think the Japanese unmusical; but I think the charge is unjust. They do not understand our music, and often make a dreadful hash of Christian melodies. But their own music they understand and can sometimes reproduce it with great effect. I remember a very pretty hymn sung by the people at the sea-side village of Katase near Enoshima during a *matsuri*; and if any one will go to the Zōjōji temple at Shiba on the rare occasions on which there is a sermon, he will I am sure be convinced that rendering of the litany to Amida (?) is distinctly melodious.

There is a cheap hymnal entitled *Bukkyō Wasan* (Hymnal of Buddhist Teaching), which is I believe a fair representative of a modern Buddhist hymnal.

It contains 300 hymns, and is divided into three parts, each containing 100 hymns. The first part treats of

“the Buddhas,” and contains hymns in honour of Sakya-muni, Amida, Dainichi and the other Buddhas. The second treats of “the law” and may fairly be compared to the “general” hymns of a Christian hymn book. In the third section we have “the Church”,—hymns for Festivals and Saints’ Days, arranged roughly according to some Calendar.

When we come to the hymns themselves it is interesting to note that some of them are “alphabetic,” like some of the Hebrew psalms—but arranged in accordance with the order of the Japanese syllabary known as *I-ro-hu*. But with these few exceptions all the hymns are in the same metre.

Ware ware honrai hotoke nari.

In these lines of twelve syllables, there is mostly a break or caesura at the end of the seventh syllable, thus breaking the line into two unequal portions of seven and five syllables respectively. Were another method of writing adopted it would be seen that the lines correspond exactly with the 7. 5. 7. 5. metre of Christian psalmody.

Ware ware honrai
Hotoke nari.

Neither quantity nor accent is used in these hymns, the sole requisite being that each line or part of a line have its proper number of syllables.

As a specimen of these hymns I give one—*Gusei Wasan*—a hymn on the saving mercies of Amida.

Shô shi no Ku Kai hotori nashi
Hisashiku shidzumeru warera wo ba
Amida gusei no fune nomi de
Nosete kanaradzu watashikeru
Mata Mida gwan on dai sei shi

Daï gwan no fune ni zôjite zo
 Shô shi no umi ni ukami tsutsu
 Ujijô wo yobote nose tamaü ²⁶

“Shoreless is the sea of miseries caused by birth and death: and we for a long time were sunk (beneath its waves), but Amida taking even us into the ship of his great mercy, by that alone carries us across safely. Moreover the great mercy of Mida’s prayer that resides in the ship of the Great Vow, when we are tossing on the sea of birth and death, puts forth his pity and takes us on board.”

To do justice to Buddhist hymnology would require a book in itself. At the present moment I can only point it out as a *terra incognita* inviting exploration and holding out promise of abundant fruit.

²⁶ I have put diacritical marks where a dissyllable is found in the Japanese Kana.

APPENDIX IV.

SYSTEM OF ETHICS.

All moral duties are based upon the *Four Favours* (*Shi On*,) *i. e.*, the benefits which we have received from four different quarters and the duties which we consequently owe to those from whom we have received them.

Our life, character, social position, development, etc., are determined by our relationships (i.) to our parents, (ii) to mankind at large, (iii.) to our sovereign, (iv.) to our religion. From these four sources we have received **all** that we have, and are still daily receiving innumerable favours ; and our moral conduct, therefore, is conditioned by our duties towards these four.

I. *Our parents* (*jubo no on*). It is to our parents that we owe our very existence. Without them we should never have come into the world. Our mothers have given to us the tedious months of pregnancy, the pangs and dangers of child-birth, often accompanied with the sacrifice of life itself, the years of loving care during which they have fed us, watched over us, tended us, until our independent life has been able to stand by itself and our need of constant personal supervision and assistance has died away. It is from our mothers that we have learned our first lessons and our first prayers.

Nor has the part played by the father been a less important one. If our mothers have borne the pain, our fathers have had the anxiety. They have worked for us, and by their work have provided the means for our main-

tenance and education. Whatever rank in life they have had, has been ours by inheritance, to improve or to deteriorate. Whatever good there may be in a father's name it has been ours as a *locus a quo*, in the making or marring of our own fortunes.

It requires, therefore, no elaborate proof to show that we owe to our parents duties of a very substantial nature in return for what we have received from them. These are defined as follows :

1. Care for our own bodies, which belong not to ourselves but to our parents. The man who by profligate living or reckless conduct injures his own health, thereby deprives his parents of the "love, honour and success" which they have a right to expect from him.

2. To preserve intact whatever we inherit from them (*fuho no isan wo tamotsu*). This duty is not merely confined to the material part of our heritage. It is our privilege to preserve, as far as we can, the name, rank and prestige derived from them.

3. To pay them all reverence and respect while living and duly to celebrate their funeral obsequies when dead.

Those duties, when put into practice, sometimes have strange results. I have known a boy decline going down the rapids of the Fujigawa river in a canoe, on the ground that his body belonged to his parents. It was in reality a very solid reason to give, but an English school-boy would have attributed the refusal to another cause. The duty of preserving intact the family heritage leads to the custom of adoption which is so commonly practised, not only in Japan, but throughout the East. From the respect paid to the memory of departed parents comes the worship of ancestors which forms so large a part of religious life in Japan. It is, however, only fair to say that here Buddhism has been considerably modified by the surrounding Confucian and Shintō belief and practices, and that memorial services for the dead are to be found in all nations.

II. If these be the duties that we owe to our parents in return for the benefits received from them, our duties to all mankind are equally clear. I have here used the word "all mankind," but the Japanese word (*shujo no on*) is far more comprehensive. It includes all creation in which there is life, not man only, therefore, but creatures higher and lower than man in the scale of life.

In considering our relations to mankind we must remember that we are dealing not merely with the present life and a possible future, but with life past, present and future. Each man amongst us has, according to the well-known doctrine of re-birth, had innumerable, or at any rate, numerous lives in the past; his present sphere of life being determined by his merit or demerit in previous existences. In each different life he has had different relationships, though these previous ties have long since been dissolved and forgotten. Every man, therefore, whilst preserving his individuality untouched during the present life, stands intimately connected with the whole of sentient life. The whole of sentient life, therefore, stands to him in the relationship of "my mother and my sister and my brother." (*Is-sai no danshi wa kore waga chichi nari Issai no nyoshi wa kore waga haha nari. Issai no shujo wa kore waga oya nari shikun nari.* "All males are my father, all females my mother. All creatures my parents and my masters.")

There is a further relationship depending on the conditions of the present life. Mankind is so constituted that we are all inextricably dependent on one another. The commonest article of food, the coarsest material which forms the simple clothing of a Japanese coolie, involves the labour of hundreds of men. Life is inconceivable without intercourse, and intercourse means commerce, and commerce at once involves the whole industrial fabric of society. We are, therefore, inextricably bound up with our fellowmen,

and as we cannot pass an hour without receiving something from them, so we cannot for one hour escape the obligations imposed on us by the conditions of our existence.

These obligations are fourfold :

(a) *juse*. The obligation to abstain from selfishness or covetousness.

(b) *aiyo*. The duty of giving kind words.

(c) *riyo*. The obligation of rendering practical aid.

(d) *doji*. The obligation of equitable dealing.

III. Our obligations as subjects to the sovereign: *Kokuō no on*. We are all members of families, communities, provinces, or states. In each of these capacities we have an obligation that we owe to those who govern us. As servants, we owe a duty to the head of the house, as members of cities, to the municipal authorities, as citizens, to the authorities of the state, and above and beyond all to that one person in whom is centred, and from whom is derived, the sum total of authority—the sovereign.

It is to the sovereign's initiative that we owe the protection of our country from enemies without, from conspiracy and crime within, the development of the country's resources, commerce, communications and agriculture and the consequent prosperity of her people, the propagation and fostering of education and the care for the institutions of religion.

It is not every country which possesses the advantage which Japan possesses of being ruled by a dynasty coeval with the nation itself. Confucius had not yet commenced to teach in China, the reforms of Sakya Muni had not yet been heard of in India, the Son of God had not yet become the son of Mary "for us men and for our salvation" when the present dynasty was firmly seated on the throne of Japan. It is the peculiar privilege, as well as the special responsibility of the Japanese nation to possess so ancient an Imperial House, and all history has shown that

patriotism, a devoted attachment to king and country is one of the most potent factors in the moral well-being of a country.

IV. The last of the four foundations of morality is what is called in Buddhist language *sam bo no on*, the obligations resulting from the benefits conferred upon us by our religion. By the *sam bo* are meant the three treasures, Buddha's person, Buddha's law, Buddha's community. Man's heart in his original state of innocence, was like the cloudless sky. When deceit and consequent falsity (*mumyo*) entered into it there arose a confusion between the *ego* and the *non-ego* (*muga*) (according to our Christian version between the *meum* and the *non-meum* also), and that initial falsity has brought with it the whole train of human misery and involved the whole human race in the apparently endless chain of birth, death and re-birth.

To the nations of the far East, it has been the merit of Sakya Muni, and of other persons, such as Amida Nyorai, who have attained to the same *enlightenment* (*butsu to wa gaku wo ini suru nari*), to instruct men in the causes of their misery, which are the confusion between the *ego* and the *non-ego* and the consequent introduction of *ingwa*—(i. e., Karma, with its endless succession of birth and re-birth). Such is the definition given of a Buddha, or enlightened being (*midzakara muga no shinri wo satori hito ni ingwa no dōri wo satorashimuru wo butsu to iu*).

In order to enable men to escape from the miseries of sinful existence, the Buddhas have given us a three-fold law of ceremony, meditation and precept, which are to be our guides, and in order to perpetuate the teaching of these truths, Sakya Muni instituted the order of Monks—men devoted to the working out of their own salvation, according to the law and in thankful remembrance of the persons of the Buddhas.

If Buddhist ethics are based on the *shī on* (the four favours) which I have just explained, they find their fuller

development in the *ju zen* (the ten righteousnesses) which may very fitly be described as the Decalogue of Buddhism.

Every action of man proceeds (I am here quoting from a series of papers by the Rev. Mr. Unsho of the Shingon sect) from one of three sources, the body, the mouth, or the will (*shin gu i*).

Actions which proceed from the body are those which cannot be done without the complicity and instrumentality of the bodily organs, and the sins of this class are classified as three—murder, theft, adultery.

Sins which proceed from the mouth are those which concern our speech, and these again are divided into four—lying.

And, finally, the sins which proceed from the will or the heart of man are those sins which can be entirely concealed within a man, and are the three roots from which the other sins spring. These again form a group of three—covetousness, anger and depraved thought.

The ten Commandments may therefore be classified as follow :

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| A - | { | i. <i>Fussesho Kai</i> , " <i>Ikimono wo korosanu imashime.</i> "
"The prohibition against taking life." |
| | | ii. <i>Fuchuto Kai</i> , " <i>Hito no mono wo kasumenu imashime.</i> " "The prohibition against theft." |
| | | iii. <i>Fuja in Kai</i> . <i>Fuji itadzura senu imashime.</i> "The prohibition against adultery and impurity." |
| B - | { | iv. <i>Fu mogo Kai</i> . <i>Uso iwanu imashime.</i> "The prohibition against lying." |
| | | v. <i>Fikiyo Kai</i> . <i>Taogoto iwanu imashime.</i> "The prohibition against equivocating or jesting, which is unseemly." |
| | | vi. <i>Fuaku Kai</i> . <i>Warukuchi iwanu imashime.</i> "The prohibition against abusive language." |
| | | vii. <i>Furyozetsu Kai</i> . <i>Nakagoto iwanu imashime.</i>
"The prohibition against backbiting and a double tongue." |

- C {
- viii. *Futonyoku Kai. Mono wo musaboranu imashime.* "The prohibition against covetousness."
 - ix. *Fushin-i Kai. Hara tatenu imashime.* "The prohibition against anger."
 - x. *Fujaken Kai. Yokoshima no omoi wo okosanu imashime.* "The prohibition against harbouring depraved thoughts."

We will now proceed to consider these ten Commandments somewhat in detail.

1. *The Commandment against taking life.* We shall notice at once that this commandment is wider in its scope than the corresponding commandment in the Christian Decalogue, as ordinarily interpreted. "Thou shalt do no murder" is limited to the taking of human life. "Thou shalt not kill" may be extended into a prohibition against all taking of life. It is worthy of notice that in the Biblical account of the Creation it is the herb and the fruit tree that are given to man for food (Genesis i. 29, 30). It is not until after the flood, when mankind has taken a lower level, further removed from Paradise, that he is allowed to become a flesh-eater. "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things. (Genesis ix. 3).

The reason given for thus absolutely prohibiting all taking of life is the teaching which we have already touched upon in treating of the *Shi On*, the absolute unity of life, which pervades all sentient beings. If there is an absolute chain (nay network) of relationship connecting each individual man with the whole of sentient creation, if the physical life which animates the mollusc be the same in essence as that which sets in motion the brain of a Kant or a Hegel, then we can see that there must be the same sacredness of life in each.

The benefits arising from the observance of this commandment are next noticed. They are arranged under ten heads:

(1) Were this commandment to be fully carried out there would be a general feeling of security amongst all living creatures. From this would arise (2) a general promotion of kindness towards animals and amongst animals. The lion would once more lie down with the lamb. (3) One of the great causes of anger, hatred, revenge, would be removed. The body would consequently (4) be more free from suffering than it is now, and (5) life would be longer. The feeling of kindness would spread upwards and man would (6) gain the protection of the *Hinin* (beings higher in the scale of existence than man, explained as *oni* "spirits"). As a consequence (7) the sleep of man would be sound, and there would be a banishment of terrifying dreams. Man's life would be set free from the restraints now set upon him by (8) envy (*onketsu*), and (9) fear. The gates of Paradise (10) would once more be open to him, and, after death, man will be re-born in heaven.

(N.B.—According to this commandment, Buddhism should be one vast Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. It is as yet very far from being such, though great efforts are being made in many quarters in Japan to bring about a more humane feeling. There has been consequently a very great improvement in many respects, for which we can be very thankful.)

II. *The prohibition against theft.* This prohibition rests on the same grounds as the Eighth Commandment of the Christian code; and it does not therefore call for any special remark from us.

The resultant benefits are again catalogued in much the same way as before. There will be a great increase of national wealth (1) and a general discouragement of extravagance. (2) Mutual goodwill will be promoted amongst men and (3) inasmuch as lies are often resorted

to as a means for concealing a theft, one of the motives for deceit will be removed. (4) Universal praise will redound to the credit of the nation or person who observes this commandment. (5) There will be no fear about losing one's property. (6) He who practices honesty advances one step towards the attainment of perfection (good name) and (7) he passes his life without fear from others. The fruits of civilization (8) abound; practical charity (9) is promoted, and in this case too, as before, the gates of Paradise (10) are unlocked by the observance of this commandment.

III. *The prohibition against adultery.* This prohibition has been variously interpreted by Buddhist authorities. It has been taken to be only a prohibition against irregular sexual connections, incest and prostitution. Those who hold this view maintain therefore that concubinage and consequently polygamy are not forbidden by this commandment. Both customs are certainly practised in all or nearly all Buddhist countries.

Our author takes a stricter view. He not only discountenances concubinage and polygamy, but he even insists on due continence within the limits and sanctions of wedlock. In other words, he takes the view of St. Paul: "Dwell with your wives according to knowledge."

The observance of this commandment entails four advantages. (1) The continent man maintains the health and well-being of every organ of his body. (2) Whether in wedlock, or out of wedlock, he is preserved from those cares and anxieties which always beset the incontinent. (3) He gains that respect from his fellow men which is always given to those who are chaste. (4) He is on the safe path to preserve the happiness of the married life.

When we come to the second group of commandments, those, namely, which relate to the sins of the mouth, we get, as we have before seen, the following, viz. :

IV. *The prohibition against lying.* Lying is defined not only as the making of false statements in words, but also in actions. It is not only "saying that what is is not," but also "pretending that what is is not," as, for instance, "claiming to be a learned man when one is not so." Everything, therefore, that makes against the truth, whether in deed or word, falls under this prohibition. Even the little white social lies which are so common in all society, and especially so in Japanese society, are condemned by our author.

On the other hand, the advantages accruing from the observance of this commandment are carefully set forth. He who observes this commandment will always preserve his mouth "pure" from the defilement of deceit, and "fragrant" with the odor of sanctity. He will gain the confidence of the world and the reverence of Heaven. He will be able with comforting words to solace the afflicted, for it will be known that his consolations are sincere. He will reap in their fullest sense the "three fruits of the wheel." Conscious of its integrity his heart will be at peace, and he will be able to make sure progress towards perfection, in spite of any outward obstacles which may beset him.

V. The next commandment reminds us of the "jesting which is not convenient" condemned by St. Paul. It is translated into modern Japanese by *taogoto iwanu imashime*, and *taogoto* may be translated into Biblical phraseology by the word "stumbling-block." It is therefore a prohibition against saying anything which shall cause thy brother to offend.

It is observed, in the commentary which follows, that the man who follows out this commandment, will, while acting with perfect sincerity towards his associates, never sin against those usages which indicate good breeding. He will gain the respect of angels and men by his gravity, and preserve the bonds of friendship unbroken by his

sincerity. He will be a man who loves to be found not in the whirl of fashionable life, but in the calmness which characterizes those great souls who are in the world but not of it. He will love that reasonable conversation which is denominated as the silence of saints, avoiding all association with bad or worthless companions. And from the habits of mind thus formed he will merit to be born hereafter into a righteous sphere (*zen-dō*).

VI. *The prohibition against abusive language.* Like the two preceding commandments, it is shown that this commandment is only a secondary commandment, *i.e.*, that it depends really upon the heart rather than of the mouth.

Neither is it to be for one moment supposed that the man who uses abusive language in any sense injures the person whom he abuses. The injury is to himself, and this is to be seen best by contemplating the language and condition of the man who keeps himself pure from this sin.

VII. Neither need we dwell long on that refuge for cowards of all sorts—the sin of *backbiting and of a double tongue*. Who has not seen instances of the man that is always “on the fence,” waiting for the results of events before he declare his opinion, and in the mean time giving expression to such colourless sentiments as shall enable him to take up whatever views shall prevail with as little prejudice to himself as possible; or who has not often times succumbed to the temptation of speaking the truth of an absent neighbour?

We are now brought to the consideration of the last group of sins, those which concern the heart.

VIII. *The prohibition of covetousness.* Covetousness may be defined as the desire of unlawful possession. Its cure is to be found in the absolute indifference to all possessions. In all ages and countries, covetousness has been at the root of all social evils. It is so now, and the

various efforts that are being made to combat the social evils—wealth and poverty, labour and capital—all come under the head of this commandment.

To cut off all desires is to free the soul from all wants because the possession of the soul alone is greater than all material wants. It is to free the soul from ambition, from desire of all sorts. Even virtue and happiness are not described, because he who has abandoned covetousness already possesses them. It is to make man absolutely perfect and self-contained and man can want no more than that.

Our writer does not, however, point out that to cut off desires is not the way to kill the sin of covetousness. Covetousness can only be killed by thoroughly *satisfying the soul*.

It is just here that the Lesser Vehicle Buddhism fails. It is merely negative: the soul of man wants something more than a negation to satisfy it. The very history of Japanese Buddhism shows this. In its earliest stages, as represented now by the older sects, the Tendai, Shingon and Zen, it represents a pure negation. Quench your desires and you will be happy.

In its later developments it seems to have come to the consciousness of the fact that the soul of man cannot be satisfied with such negations. Hence, in the Jōdo and Shin sects, Amida is offered to the soul as a personal saviour who can satisfy its longings. And then, as though conscious that Amida is not a reality, the Nichiren sect arises, which, in spite of its stern denunciation of Amida as a fraud, one invocation of whose name will bring with it a thousand years of purgatory, is, nevertheless, reckoned as a true Buddhist sect.

IX. *The prohibition against anger.* He that has conquered the sin of anger has overcome pain, for anger is the result of pain in the heart. He has also conquered selfishness, and desire of having the mastery; and has

learned patience and meekness. Such a man can "receive" that heart of practical mercy which distinguishes the saints; nay, the very aspect of his countenance, and his bearing will show the peace that is within his heart. He has conquered this world; patience and meekness have opened to him the world of the Buddhas.

X. Lastly, *prohibition against harbouring depraved thoughts* is set before us as the sum total of all the commandments. It is at the root of all the others. If a man has learned to regulate all his thoughts he is master of himself. Master of himself, he is master of the universe. He is perfect, and can live henceforth without any restraint, because he has become a law unto himself. He is perfect, and henceforth attains to the completion of knowledge and enlightenment. It is, in fact, equivalent to the triumph over pain and ignorance which leads to Nirvana.

In a further lecture on the Decalogue, Mr. Unsho points out that there are two sides to these prohibitions—a negative and a positive. Not only are certain vices prohibited, but the contrary virtues are commanded. The same distinction will be found in almost any Christian treatise on our Ten Commandments.

The Decalogue further finds its perfection in the six transcendental virtues; they are the source of all goodness, they are absolutely necessary and indispensable. They are; charity, morality, patience, energy, tranquil contemplation, wisdom.

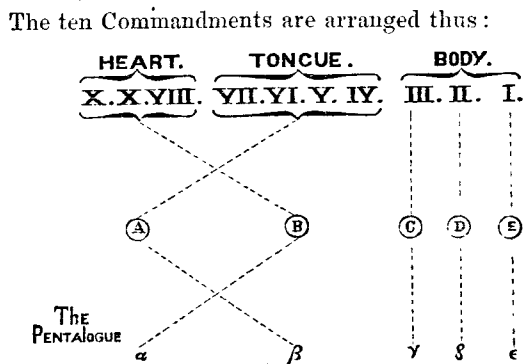
But we ask on what authority are these commandments based? They are to be found in several of the Sutras. We will quote at length from one which will serve as a pattern of the rest.

The Karma Vibhaga Sutra says: "Buddha declared that there were ten kinds of works which led to birth in human form: 1. Not to kill; 2. not to steal; 3, not to commit adultery; 4, not to use immoral language; 5, not

to equivocate ; 6. not to slander ; 7. not to lie ; 8. not to covet ; 9. not to indulge in anger ; 10. not to envy or indulge in partiality."

The above quotation I make from Mr. Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*. It will be noticed that his terms are not quite those that I have used, but I think I have faithfully represented my Japanese authority.

There is another catalogue of sins and prohibitions called the *Go Kai*, which sums up all these precepts under five heads. The subjoined table adapted from a similar table in a Japanese paper²⁷ will show the correspondences between these two sets of commandment and also the five Confucian principles of morality.



The five Confucian principles of morality are :

- A. Truthfulness.
- B. Wisdom.
- C. Ceremonials (good manners).
- D. Justice.
- E. Benevolence.

The five Buddhist commandments are those most usually found in Japanese books of morality :

- α . The prohibition against intemperance
- β . The prohibition against lying.

²⁷ The *Bukkyō*, Nov., 1893.

- γ. The prohibition against adultery.
- δ. The prohibition against theft.
- ε. The prohibition against taking life.

It will be seen that this classification is not nearly so complete as the other. I think myself that it is due to an attempt at harmonizing Confucian and Buddhist Ethics.

There is again another classification which divides prohibited actions into eight classes. This is called in Japanese the *hak-kai* and corresponds with the Noble Eight-fold path propounded by Buddha in the earlier stages of his teaching. The sins thus prohibited are: 1. Taking life; 2. theft; 3. fornication; 4. lying; 5. wine drinking; 6. lying on a large bed; 7. personal ornaments; 8. dancing and singing. Some of these prohibitions as, *e.g.*, No. 6, are absolutely unnecessary in a country like Japan, whilst the tenth commandment of the Jū Zen covers all that is harmful in wine drinking, personal ornaments, dancing and singing.

It remains for us to point out that morality by itself is not a sufficient guide. Morality must be accompanied by enthusiasm, and enthusiasm must be kindled by a person or a personified principle. In the case of Buddhism, the person is Sakya Muni, the personified principle is supplied by the Buddhas of the Great Vehicle, those mysterious Buddhas who are supposed to have come forth "out of the Nothing into here," to develop and complete the teachings of Sakya Muni, and who are themselves in some way mysteriously connected with the Buddha.

NICHIREN.

I

A lowly cottage, thatched with straw of rice,
 With dirty mats, and beams begrimed with smoke
 From the rude hearth that smouldered in the midst,
 With half-charred logs that crackled as they burned,
 And sent up showers of sparks against the roof :
 While, to the right, a little room leads off,
 Unadorned, with a desk and pile of books,
 And pens and ink-tray : on the wall, a scroll,
 Gro, with old age, with figures indistinct
 Of venerable Bodhisats, who sit
 Cross-legged upon their lotus-leaves, and bless
 With three uplifted fingers all the world.
 And by the desk, with open book, a man,
 Dressed as a peasant, yet, upon his face,
 A look that marks him for a gentleman.

And, with his hand upon the open page,
 His eye has wandered to the lattice door,
 That stands wide open, giving him a view
 Across the garden, with its humble crop
 Of sweet potatoes, endives, cucumbers,
 With here and there a stray neglected flower.

Hence runs a pathway, marked with sunken stones,
 Down to a still dark pond, where, from the ooze,

The lotus pushes its broad petals forth,
 And fills the air with beauty. Further yet,
 The moss-grown village sloping to the sea,
 The beach alive with boats and men and nets,
 And gleaming fish that struggle on the sands,
 Seeking escape in vain ; the broad expanse
 Of sea, sail dotted with the fisher boats ;
 And in the far horizon, a blue line,
 Ridges that stretch far eastward, and the pines
 Fringing the white streak of the breaking surf.

Seeing, he saw not :—for his restless mind
 Had long since fled beyond those distant hills
 To where in happier days he served his lord,
 A feudal baron in the western land,
 Near to the city, where, invisible,
 The Emperor kept the shadow of his state.
 Right faithfully he served, in war and peace,
 Till, on some baseless charge of treachery,
 His lord, with sudden-kindled prejudice,
 Degraded Nukina from all his rank,
 And stripped him of his farm, and banished him
 From Court and office, home and family.

So in that village by the eastern sea,
 Remote from all the bustling haunts of men,
 He lived an outcaste, midst the fisher folk,
 Rough, boisterous men, whose thoughts were strange to his
 Unfriendly and alone.

Yet found he one,—

A maid,—that felt compassion for his woes,
 And learned to love the exile, and at last,
 Braving the ignorant scandal of the beach,
 Mated with him, and cheered his lonely lot.

Whilst thus he mused, behind the sliding-screen,
 That shut off part of this small tenement,

There broke upon his ear a sound of groans,
 Mingled with women's whispers, comforting
 Some unseen sufferer, and the hurried beat
 Of footsteps speeding past to seek for aid,
 Then all was hushed, and then a feeble cry
 As of a new born babe, and, presently,
 The screen slid back, and, lo ! an aged dame,
 With blackened teeth, and wrinkled countenance,
 Bore safe within her arms an infant boy,
 And laid him gently at his father's feet.
 " See what thy wife has given thee : wilt thou have it ? "

He started from his reverie, and smiled
 Upon his first-born, as he lay and stretched
 His tiny limbs, and yawned, and gasped for breath,
 Seeking the comfort of his mother's breast,
 With instinct placed by Heaven within His soul.

Just then the morning sun peeped from a cloud
 That cast its shadow on the southern sea,
 With one bright ray upon the infant face,
 Revealing all its beauty :

" See," he cried,

" The Sun of Righteousness shines on the just
 " In spite of man's disfavour. I accept
 " The gift that Heaven has given me, and call
 " His name Zenuichi—Son of Righteousness."

II.

A solitary lad upon the rocks,
 Gazing out seaward, where the angry wind
 Lashes the eastern wave to furious wrath,
 And tossing billows crested with foam

Sweep roaring to the shore, and beat themselves
 In anger purposeless against the cliffs.
 And in his eye there stands a briny tear,
 Salt as the ocean spray upon his face,
 That dims, but quenches not the hidden fire,
 That flashes forth from the volcanic soul,
 And shakes with vehemence his slender frame,
 " Fiends ! how I hate them !" —and he ground his teeth.
 And clutched convulsively with twitching grasp,
 As though he seized some foeman by the throat,
 And choked his life out in his righteous wrath.

For that day, as he played upon the shore,
 Zennichi's wrath was kindled—for he met
 A crowd of ragged urchins from the boats,
 Teasing a fledgling sparrow they had caught,
 With pole and birdlime in the bamboo grove,
 And, as they tore it with malicious glee,
 Zennichi's anger boiled within his soul,
 And forth the words came rushing from his heart :

" Shame be upon you ! What ! is this your sport
 To gather round in cruel merriment
 And work your tortures on a harmless bird,
 Sharer with you of life and Heaven's air ?
 Shame ! let it go, I tell you let it go,
 And turn to worthier pastime. What say you
 To have a game of soldiers on the beach ?
 With drums and waving swords and sandy forts ?
 Come, I will be the Captain "

But the lads,
 For that they hated this poor slender boy,
 That ever frowned upon their barbarous sports,
 And loved the beasts they tortured in their play,

And wept to see the wounded hare, or doe,
 Or trout that floundered on the angler's hook ;
 With many a taunt and bitter unkind word,
 Such as boys love to fling upon their mates,
 Bandyng words whose force they know not of,
 Drove him away—"What is it, pray, to you ?
 The bird is our's—yes our's by captor's right,
 To do with as we please—and none of yours ;
 We don't want you to come and play with us :—
 Wait till you're asked,—you outcast vagabond."
 With that they laughed, and ran away from him,
 Bearing their dying captive in their hands.
 And, as they turned the corner, where the boats
 Stood drawn up high and dry upon the sands,
 They stopped and pelted him with shells and stones,
 And hooted at him with derisive words :
 "Ah ! who would be a banished outcast's son !"

With that, the lad, his heart brim full of wrath
 That sought to quench itself in silent tears,
 Betook him to his perch upon the rocks
 And gazed out seaward at the angry waves,
 Lashed into fury by the raging wind,
 That seemed to find an echo in his breast.

There, all alone,—in that blest solitude,
 When none are near to fan the flame of wrath,
 Where God, unknown, speaks to the heart of man
 By sighing winds, and roaring waves, and trees
 That murmur as they bend before the wind,
 And all the many voices of the earth—
 The boy's heart seemed to lull itself to rest,
 Responding to the wild wind's lullaby.
 Then as he thought of all this bright, fair world
 And all its pain—this world he loved so well—
 For every flower that bloomed upon the hills

Spoke to him as a friend, from eye to eye,
 With wordless *motions* reaching to the heart ;
 And every bird, that sung upon the lea,
 Spoke in a tongue he seemed to know by heart ;
 And every beast, that walked upon the land,
 Zennichi knew it, and its haunts and cry ;
 And two wild foxes from their lair close by,
 Among the tangled scrub behind the house,
 Came at his cry and took the food he gave,
 Nor feared his hand, but gambolled in the grass,
 And fawned like spaniels, answering to their names
Of Hō and *Myō*.—The foolish villagers,
 Fearing the witching power of the fox,
 The evil spirit incarnate,—shrank from him
 As one whose spirit was akin to ill,
 Else had he feared to league himself with these,
 Hell's ministers, for, oftentimes in the dusk
 The peasant, home returning from his field,
 Meeting a fox, is all bereft of sense,
 Speechless and powerless to think or act.
 Thus all the village feared the gentle lad,
 As one in league with devils, and himself
 Conversant with infernal powers and spells.

Thus thinking of the grief that mars the earth,
 The pain that comes from Nature's broken law,
 The evil thing called sin, he gazed to sea,
 And drew the keen salt breeze into his lungs,
 And felt the strength and solace of the wind
 Revive his spirits, and within him rose
 A strong desire, such as stirs within
 The hearts of those whom Heaven chooses out
 To be Apostles, preaching righteousness.
 " They call me beggar, outcast, vagabond,
 Spurning my father and his miseries !

" Poor souls, they know not Nature, nor the love
 That reigns in all things animate, and binds
 Man to his fellow,—man to everything
 That lives and moves, and feels the mighty pulse
 That throbs within the One Heart of the World.
 Poor souls ! yet I who know the better law,
 Taught by an instinct kindlier and true,
 Shall I not strive to teach their ignorance,
 And spread amongst them that great law of love ?"
 Thus he—not knowing yet the perfect Law,
 But groping for the Light he dimly saw,
 With great compassion for the sins of men,
 Desired to be a Saviour ; from that hour
 Zennichi's heart was set to be a priest.

III.

A road-side inn, beside a sluggish stream
 That winds across the plains into the sea,
 And bears upon its bosom clumsy boats
 Laden with rice, or charcoal, and long rafts
 Of rough-hewn timber from the distant hills.

And from the inn a host of tiny flags
 Welcome the traveller with silent show
 Demonstrative of hospitality.
 Whilst underneath, upon the raised floor,
 Sit host and hostess, serving man and maids,
 And with loud cries of welcome long drawn out
 Receive the traveller, as he stops to rest
 And pass the midday hour ;—and peeps beyond
 Into the kitchen, where, with ceaseless talk,
 And bustling clatter amidst pots and pans,
 The cooks are busied with the simple meal
 That suits a simple folk. Anon, a priest,

Slender, erect, and straight of limb, and tall
 With bright eye gleaming from an active soul,
 And lips that speak determined force of will,
 Such as could force a sin and conquer it
 Or sway with eloquence a furious crowd ;
 His dusty cassock tucked up round his waist,
 And on his back a little oilskin pack
 That held his property ; and round his wrist
 The rosary of beads where on to pray,
 And, in the bosom of his folded dress,
 A carved image of the mighty Lord,
 The Indian Buddha.

Thus he came,

And sat him down upon the dais floor,
 Beside the great hibachi of mine host,
 And sipped his tea, and took his simple bowl
 Of rice, and beans.

Whilst thus he sat, there came

A troop of childrën, rushing from behind,
 And filling all the air with noisy shouts,
 Some running on in front, while others dragged
 A cart with creaking wheels, and filled with dolls ;
 Dolls, such as children in all countries love,
 Old ones with battered faces, broken arms
 And minus legs—and in the midst of these
 Like some great giant on a pigmy ship
 There rode in state, with shattered hands and arms,
 Wanting a nose and ear, begrimed with dirt,
 And bearing signs of dastardly neglect,
 An image of the Buddha.

When the priest,

Turning to watch the children at their games,
 Beheld the holy idol in such plight,
 Irreverently jostled by the boys,
 His face flushed anger, and his fingers twitched,
 With boiling passion, though his tongue was tied.

Then with one stride he dashed among the boys,
 Who fled with terror at this fierce attack,
 And tore the holy idol from its cart,
 And bore it gently back into the house,
 As one would lift the object of his love
 Bearing her out of danger ;—then he turned
 And spoke in quiet accents, as a man
 Speaks, when his will subdues his mighty wrath :—
 “ How came these children by this holy thing ? ”

To whom the host with cringing reverence,
 “ Nay, reverend Sir, this is no holy thing,
 Though once we deemed it such—for, you must know,
 The learned Shinran lately passed by here,
 From Kamakura—the great holy priest,
 Who spoke of the one Buddha, Amida,
 And told us that we need but trust in him
 And with thankful heart repeat the words,
 ‘ Hail, Amida the Buddha ! ’—As for him
 Whose image you have rescued from the cart,
 He told us it was vain to trust in him,
 Who bid men save themselves by works of law
 A long circuitous journey, whereas now,
 ‘ Believe and you are saved by Amida ! ’
 And so this idol that you snatched away,
 As being useless to us, we had stored
 In one of the outhouses, where the lads
 Found it and took it for their childish game.”
 Felt his heart sink within him :—for it seemed
 As though the sun were darkened in the heaven,
 And Renchō, when he heard the landlord’s words,
 And all the brightness of the Truth were gone.

For, in the Temple by the eastern sea—
 Kyosumidera, with its aged priest

Dōzen—the boy Zennichi had become
 Renchō the priest,—and Dōzen's mouth had taught
 Renchō the mysteries of the holy law
 Of Buddha, those that Kōbō brought with him
 From China—*Shingon*, "world of Truth," a path
 By fasting, prayer, and pious formulas
 To reach unto the holy truth that leads
 To Buddhahood, true Wisdom of the Soul.
 And scarce a murmur of the wicked act
 That preached of Amida and His Paradise,
 Wherein all men may enter just by faith,
 Had reached that quiet village. So the years
 Passed by in stillness—till the lad became
 The full-grown priest, with faith, deep, clear and strong,
 For all the mighty wisdom that there lies
 In that great Faith of Buddha and the love
 For sinful men ensnared in error's net,
 Without one hope of ever being freed,
 Save one should teach them—filled his ardent soul
 With that pure fire that makes a man a saint.
 But in that Temple was there dearth of books,
 And Dōzen seeing Renchō's eager zeal
 To press into the deepest mysteries,
 Was fain awhile to lose his company
 And bid him venture forth into the world,
 And seek elsewhere for learning more profound
 Than a poor village temple could afford;
 And Renchō, nothing loth to see the world,
 Shouldered his pack, and tucked his cassock high,
 And staff in hand, set forth from home to walk,
 Across Musashi's solitary plain,
 Where long years afterward great Yedo rose,
 To seek the Shōguns Kamakura court,
 And all the holy priests assembled there.
 So with a righteous grief within his soul,

RENCHŌ went upon his lonely road :
 "Alas! the Holy Faith is well-nigh dead,
 The image of its Founder being cast
 To bats and mice in some dark dirty barn,
 And dragged by children through the streets in play.
 Ah me!"—and then there rose within his heart
 Some dim foreboding of a work to come,
 A burden laid on him to purify,
 Reform, restore and build the Faith again,
 And, his warm heart responding to the hand
 That laid the burden on it, and he strode on
 With firmer stride, and figure more erect,
 Conscious of hidden purpose, power and sanctity.

IV.

KYŌSUNIDERA by the Eastern sea ;
 And all the peasants of the neighbourhood
 Come flocking through the Temple gates in crowds,
 And take their seats upon the matted floor,
 Or crouch upon the wooden steps in front
 And wait the Preacher's advent.—For they hear
 That RENCHŌ preaches his first sermon there.
 And some old men are mindful of the day
 When RENCHŌ's father—sitting there apart,
 With fond paternal pride, to hear his son—
 First came, an exile, to the fisher town ;
 And others mindful of the slender lad
 ZENNICHĪ, whom they all disliked at school,
 And how he loved the speechless beasts and birds,
 And how they pelted him and called him names,
 And all remembered how, ten years ago,
 He left the village temple and remained
 Long years a travelling student, wandering
 To all the famous temples in the land,
 In search of wisdom, and religious lore ;

And how returning he seemed shy and sad,
 Keeping his counsel, and refused to speak
 Of all the men and marvels he had seen.
 For when they asked him of the Shōgun's Court
 At Kamakura, hoping for some tale
 About the lords and warriors of the place,
 He answered them about the myriad shells
 Dancing in sunlight on the wave-beat shore ;
 Or when they spoke of the Imperial town,
 Kyōtō, or of Nara midst the hills,
 Or Hiyeizan's far-famed monastery,
 And how the faith progressed throughout the land,
 He said that at Kyōtō all the trees
 Were white with cherries ; that the wind blew strong
 On Hiyeizan, and Nara's snows were deep.
 But not one word he spoke where with to feed
 The spiritual hunger that was in their souls.
 But now the time of silent thought was done,
 Renchō was going to preach.

And all the folks

Came, wondering what the sermon would be like.
 Dōzen was there, the aged priest, who first
 Had given the tonsure to the wayward lad
 Zennichi,—and by her husband sat,
 His aged mother—beaming with the pride
 A mother feels in listening to her son ;
 And Tōjō too was there, the governor
 Of all that province, for he too had heard
 Of Rencho's fame and now was hither drawn.
 Then when the drums were silent which were beat
 As preludes to the service, Renchō straight
 Mounted the pulpit and with steadfast look,
 Changing the phrase where with the priests were wont
 To preface their orations, ten times cried,
 " Hail to the scripture of the Holy Law,"
 And raised a book above his head, and there,

Striking the desk with his uplifted hand,
Commenced to speak :—

“The time has come,” he said,
“When Buddha’s holiest law should be proclaimed,
The last and noblest teaching that he gave.
For verily the faith is flickering out.
And few there are that know the path of life.
For look you, brethren, in this land of ours
The teaching of the Buddha which was one,
Is broken into sects, and heresies,
Each claiming to be Buddha’s truth, yet each
Presenting doctrines contradictory.
For we, my brethren, in this Shingon sect
Exalt the great Dainichi, whom they call
Vairocana the Wisdom of the World,
And with much show of wisdom, many charms,
And incantations, seek to bolster up
This substitute for Shaka’s simple creed.
Whilst in a Temple not a mile from here,
The priests of Zen, professing to be taught
From heart to heart a secret form of Truth
That passes words and knowledge, make themselves
The laughing-stock of all the neighbourhood,
With their contemplative retirement
Thinking of nothing,—sleeping half the time,
And feeding on the nightmares of their dreams.

“Or, if you like we’ll take the Jōdo sect,
Which late has shown such vigour in our land.
With Shinran for its prophet—what of it ?
The blankest, soul-destroying, heresy,
That puts a fable in the place of Truth
And preaches Amida—who’s Amida ?
And what is all this Jōdo ritual
But crying ‘Nembutsu in a horse’s ear ?’

What need I speak about that mongrel creed
 That seeks to patch a worn-out cloak afresh
 With brand new pieces of a different hue,
 And grafts the Buddhas on the ancient stock
 Of Shinto gods or demi-gods, and thus,
 Serving two masters,—learns to serve the times,
 But, slave to error, cannot serve the Truth ?
 But in this book from which I preach to-day,
 The last and holiest of Shaka's law,
 Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
 The Lotus Scripture of the Holy Law,
 I find the truest teaching of the Lord,
 That highest form of doctrine which he gave
 To be the lasting guide of future years.
 Listen, my brethren, while I teach it you."

But, as a lion growling in his wrath,
 So from his audience came a murmuring sound,
 Muffled at first, but growing to a roar,
 And all the people rose upon their feet
 And cursed him loudly for a heretic
 That durst blaspheme the mighty Amida,
 And ridicule the holy priests of Zen,
 And like a bird that fouls its native nest
 Proclaim the Shingon as a sect of fools !
 And as the uproar grew, and men dispersed
 In quest of swords and sticks, as men are wont
 To back the unrighteous cause with violence,
 Then Dōzen softly drew to Renchō's side,
 And plucked him by the sleeve, and whispered him
 To pass out quietly and leave the hall,
 Lest bloodshed bring disgrace upon the scene
 And thus the Holy Temple be defiled.
 So Rencho passed away, and fled the land,
 Going he knew not where—and presently,

The author of the mischief being away,
 The crowds dispersed in peace—yet many bore
 The seeds of Renchō's doctrine in their hearts

V.

A dip amongst the sand hills by the sea,
 Far from all haunts of men—and in the dip
 A shed of loose construction, fit to serve
 For temporary shelter from the sun
 Or sudden bursting tempest : overhead
 The placid moon beams on the peaceful scene.
 And, by the narrow path that winds amongst
 The tall grass in the bottoms and the pines
 Of stunted growth that crown the sandy hills,
 A young priest wanders with uncertain step,
 As one who, having lost his way, scarce knows
 Which way to turn his sore and weary foot ;
 Slow coming to the shed, from which the sound
 Of muttered prayers and chaunts monotonous
 Proclaims the presence of some anchorite,
 Who in this wild and solitary spot
 Makes his devotions.

“ By our leave, fair Sir,
 If that I may disturb you at your prayers,
 I fain would know where dwells a priest of fame
 Whom once I knew at Hiyeizan when we
 Were students there together.”—

“ A priest, say you ?
 What was his name ?”

“ Renchō, his name, fair Sir,
 A priest of noble stature, tall and slim,
 With sharp cut features, strong ascetic mien,
 And eyes that flashed forth fire from his soul.
 A learned priest.”

“ Renchō, my friend, is gone :

And Nichiren now lives in Renchō's stead ;
 I am the man you seek for. Your request ? ”
 Whereat the younger priest, on bended knees,
 Bowed down in fear, and worshipped Nichiren :
 “ O Lord,” said he, “ for surely Lord art thou
 Whose wisdom seems like Buddha's—I have heard
 Of all thy learning, and the truth that hangs
 Upon thy lips, and therefore am I come.
 For truly in the halls at Hiyeizan
 I learned to venerate that holy book
 Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
 The last and holiest book of Shaka's law :
 But as it seemed to me, there hung a veil
 Upon the face of all that studied it,
 And none could penetrate its inmost sense.
 Thus what should be the mainstay of our life
 Became our poison. Therefore when I heard
 That thou hadst reached into the very heart
 And essence of the highest form of Truth,
 I purposed to come to thee and hear
 From thine own lips the truths that thou hast found.
 But when I came to yonder eastern shore
 Across the bay, to that religious house,
 Kyosumidera, I found them all in wrath,
 Saying that thou wert mad, for thou hadst preached
 Blaspheming words against the holy sects
 That flourish in this land, and didst extol
 Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
 As the sole Scripture of the Lotus Law.
 What mad ? thought I.—Nay, in the company
 Of fools the wise man seemeth to be mad,
 For wisdom ever weareth cap and bells
 When fools do judge of her. Therefore the more
 I sought thee that thou mightest be my Lord
 And I thy servant.”

“ Nay, no servant thou.

They who in evil times defend the Truth
Are warriors, but not servants,—therefore thou
Mayst be my soldier.

“ Caust thou bear the fight,

The veiled neglect, the hard indifference,
The bitter scorn and base malignity
That officed Error bears against the Truth
Left in the cold outside ? Or caust thou be
Naught but a voice that, through long weary years,
Cries in the desert of the coming dawn.
To men whose ears and eyes are closed and barred
To every access of unwelcome facts,
Who love the shadow-battles of the night
Above the glorious victory of Truth ?
Remember, I alone fight 'gainst the World,
And none there are to help me, but the Truth
And my good conscience. Shouldst thou follow me,
Naught have I but the Truth to offer thee.
Promotion cometh not to such as me
That dare to think against the current thought.
Therefore, bethink thee, ere thou follow me.”

To whom the other : “ Yea, my Lord I can
Stand with thee 'gainst the tide of current thought.
For I have found the current thought but vain,
And all this jargon of the Vehicles,
Wherein men ride according to their powers
To various havens, heavens, or nothingness,
Are but the fancied dreams of foolish men.
For Truth is *One*, and Shaka's Truth is *One*,
And that Great Heart that beats in all the world
Is only *One*, and thus the Hope of Man
Is only *One*—and thou, O Lord; hast dared
To teach this Oneness in diversity,
So will I follow thee, thou holy man.”

VI

A sudden storm upon the rock-bound coast
 Of Idzu, and amidst the waves a ship,
 With low-reefed sail scudding before the wind
 To gain the safety of the open sea.
 Near it a low rock, half a mile from land,
 The home of gulls and sea mews, where the spray,
 Dashing with fury covers all the crag
 With snow-white foam, and, underneath, the tide
 Roars like the thunder through the hollow cave,
 And undermining tunnels.

On the rock,
 With rosary in hand, his bright eye fixed
 In meditation, stands a priestly man,
 And heedless of the tumult of the storm,
 Recites his evening orisons—as though
 He knelt in peace within some country shrine
 Embosomed in a pine grove's holy calm.

For in the Shōgun's town, Kamakura,
 Daily from early morn to dewy eve,
 Choosing some crowded corner of the street,
 Our Nichiren had preached the holy Law
 That he had found within the Lotus-book ;
 And when the crowd, attracted by the drum,
 And loud stentorian voice of him that spake,
 Had gathered round to hear him, he denounced
 With measureless invective all the sects
 That called themselves the Buddha's following,
 That neither knew, nor loved, nor followed
 The teachings of their Lord.

And some that heard
 Passed with a sneering shrug—"Look at that fool !
 This comes from over-study :—he is *mad*.
 Andn too much learnig's done it."

But the rest,

Wincing at some home thrust—some bitter taunt
That laid right bare some hidden course of sin,
Laughed,—but with anger—and the angry laugh
Gave birth to ruder violence, till the crowd
Jostled the preacher from his vantage coign,
And drove him off with sticks and flying stones.
But Nichiren, undaunted, came again,
And with the sun's first rays began to preach
The same old sermon, crying in the streets
To shame the false professors of the Law,
And every night at sunset he returned
To that lone cottage 'midst the shifting dunes,
Where, by the dim light of a rustic lamp,
He penned a book—the mirror of his soul—
Strong, vehement, and couched in bitter words,
In which he prayed the Shōgun's Majesty
To take good counsel for the Empire's weal,
And extirpate these shoots of heresy
That choke the good seed of the Holy Law.
For, verily, the Ruler's chief concern should be
To make Religion prosper—and the Truth
Alone can make a nation's lasting Peace.

But when the Shōgun read the audacious book
That dared to speak so fiercely of the Church,
And macerate the sins of vicious priests,
Exposing to the world schismatic ways
And paths of heresy, his heart was stirred
To anger, and he banished Nichiren
To rocky Idzu.—“ There, my gentleman,
Preach till you're hoarse about the Lotus law,
And save the crows from schism and heresy.”

So Nichiren was placed upon a ship and sent
Across the bay to Ito ; where the sea,

With roaring breakers, beat against the shore,
 And boiling surf was dashed against the cliffs,
 And sudden tempest lashed the pent-up waves,
 Which, when the mariners beheld, they feared
 A near approach, and coming to a rock,
 The home of gulls and seamews, far from land,
 They made their captive leave the ship and leap
 Upon the rocky islet—"In that bay,"
 They cried, "lies Ito, now your prison-home.
 When the sea calms, then you may swim to shore."
 With that they turned, and stood to sea, and left
 Poor Nichiren alone upon that rock.

But he, as one inured to danger, stood
 Upon the level summit of the isle,
 Beaten with surf and howled around by wind,
 And from his breast produced the well-thumbed book,
 And, standing there in posture worshipful,
 Intoned his evening orisons, and his voice,
 Rising above the discord of the storms,
 Was borne upon the gale towards the shore
 Like some loud signal bell upon a buoy
 That sounds to warn the mariners from harm.

Just then an aged sailor from his hut,
 That nestled half-way up the hollow chine,
 Embowered in orange trees, came out to view
 The havoc of the tempest. As he stood,
 The loud, shrill, cadence of the Buddhist prayers
 Struck on his ear, and looking out to sea,
 He saw upon the distant isle of rock
 A priest, unmoved, saying evensong,
 Right in the cauldron of the boiling surge,
 "Ah me!" cried he, "some shipwrecked traveller,

Thrown from his ship into the stormy deep,
 Has swum to that precipitous rock, and climbed
 Its slippery sides :—e'en now, methinks, he prays ;
 And I'm the answer heaven has sent to him."

With that he strode down to the roaring beach
 And launched his skiff, and sculled her out to sea,
 Nor recked of danger, till he reached the shore,
 And safe returning brought the priest to land.
 There in that cottage in the leafy chine,
 Close to a spring that bubbles from the earth,
 Boiling as from some cauldron underground,
 Three years the aged sailor and his wife
 Tended the exiled Nichiren with care
 And fond attention, like their only son,
 And he, who had no silver in his purse,
 No earthly power of recompense, bestowed
 That which he had—the gift of Truth—and taught
 The Lotus Scripture of the Holy Law,
 And all the saving doctrine.

Thus it came,
 That out of evil Heaven contrived the good,
 And even in that mountain land remote,
 The drum of righteousness began to beat.

VII.

Crowds in the dusty thoroughfares,
 And on all faces dwells a look of fear.
 And at a corner near the palace gate
 There stands a crowd around the meagre priest
 Who, with excited look and eager voice,
 Is stirring up the fear-struck crowd to wrath :
 " Did I not tell you oftentimes, as I stood
 Here at this corner, that the wrath of Heaven

Hung o'er this land, her people and her lords ?
 Yet you believed me not, and when I strove
 With earnestness to witness to the truth,
 And root out error, you misliked my words,
 And sought to take my life by guile or force.
 Yes ; and the Shōgun too became my foe,
 And drove me hence to exile.—But you see
 Now, that I spoke the Truth : the stroke of Heaven
 Has fall'n with pestilence upon the land ;
 Who amongst you that mourns not for his dead,
 Snatched from him prematurely by the plague
 That spares nor lowly hut nor royal halls ?
 And has there not been fear throughout the land
 Of fierce invasion by the Mogul hordes ?
 Do not your hearts now fail you ?—Do ye ask,
 Why this distress—this fear,—this pestilence ?
 Look at yourselves, your sins, your heresies !
 They are the cause of all your present woes :
 Therefore be guided ere it be too late.
 Denounce these wicked teachers and their ways,
 Weary the Shōgun with your boisterous complaints,
 Till Truth prevail and it be deemed a crime
 To offer up a prayer to Amida,
 Or meditate on nothing or repeat
 The silly sounds of mystic Sanskrit words,
 Save only such as from the Hokekyō
 I and I only can expound to you.”
 So day by day before the palace walls
 Our Nichiren provoked them with his talk,
 Lashing their errors with his scathing tongue :
 And day by day the people's murmurs grew
 Louder and stronger, and the active foes
 Of Nichiren besought the Shōgun's self
 Once and for all to stay the preacher's tongue,
 Lest his fierce eloquence disturb the state.

So from the palace went the officers
 With swords and staves and dragged him from his post,
 Right in the fervid midst of his harangues,
 And led him forth to die upon the sands
 By virtue of the mandate of their lord.
 There where the solitary sand hills stretch
 Towards Enoshima and the jutting crag
 Of Koshigoye, the sad cavalcade
 Stopped and the prisoner, kneeling on a mat,
 Prepared himself to meet a martyr's death.
 Thrice, as he knelt upon the mat and prayed,
 With rosary in hand, and face up-turned,
 "Hail to the Scriptures of the Lotus Law,"
 He gave the signal to the officer
 Who stood with sword drawn for the deadly stroke.
 Thrice did the doughty executioner
 Upraise the flashing blade as though to strike.
 And, thrice the lightning from the angry sky
 Descending stayed the uplifted stroke of death,
 And all men stood and wondered ! and he rose
 Acquitted by the open doom of Heaven,
 As one on whom the hand of death had lost
 Its power—one brought back from death to life.
 Henceforth, unlet, he went upon his way,
 And, with a power from another world,
 Preached to the people from his holy book,
 And taught the One True Path of Buddha's Law,

CONCLUSION.

A quiet tomb amidst the pine-clad hills
 Of Ikegami, looking o'er the sea
 Towards the mountains of that eastern land
 Where Nichiren was bred, and where he preached
 His first great sermon on the Lotus Law.
 And near the tomb a pair of temples stand

Embowered in sombre pines, and worshippers
 Offer unceasing prayers, and noisy drums,
 By day and night proclaim the holy Law,
 That came to bring a sword throughout the land ;
 And peaceful pigeons flutter on the roofs
 And build their nests beneath the mighty eaves,
 Fittest inhabitants of sacred spots.

Of these twin Temples, one is plain and bare,
 And on its unused floor are piled up
 Benches, and boards, and timbers, broken lamps
 And boxes full of mouldering properties
 Right up to Shaka's lotus pedestal ;
 The other richly carved, with ornaments
 Of gold and tinsel, costly lamps and seats,
 And richly lacquered altars, upon which
 There lie the sacrificial cakes of dough,
 Perpetual offerings, and incense smoke
 Sends up a ceaseless fragrance with the prayers
 Of many worshippers, who bow before
 The great red idol of Saint Nichiren !
 Thus he who grieved because Lord Amida
 Drove Shaka from his lotus pedestal,
 Usurps himself the self-same upstart place.
 And Shaka yields to greater Nichiren
 The chief seat in the Temple and the heart !
 So that great spendthrift son, Posterity,
 Reverses all the labours of a life,
 And builds a costly sepulchre to hold
 The bones of him whose works it follows not !

So peace be to thy soul, good Nichiren,
 And in that Unseen World, where thou art now,
 May'st thou behold the Christ thou knew'st not here,
 And so approach the highest realm of Truth,

The knowledge of the Father and the Son,
Wherein consists alone eternal life.

And thou, oh Christ, fulfil thy perfect work,
Build up thy Church with every gift and grace,
To show to men the wisdom manifold
That dwells in God—take to thyself once more
Thy Kingdom upon earth, and reign a king.

J.

21. C

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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